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NUREMBERG



Property of Father Dege



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*Nuremberg — The Magic of a Medieval City
told in engravings and colour prints*

Ursula Pfistermeister

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Hans Carl Nuremberg

In the valley of the Pegnitz,
where across broad meadowlands
Rise the blue Franconian mountains,
Nuremberg, the ancient, stands.

Quaint old town of toil and traffic,
quaint old town of art and song,
Memories haunt thy pointed gables,
like the rooks that round them throng:

Memories of the Middle Ages,
when the emperors, rough and bold,
Had their dwelling in thy castle,
time-defying, centuries old;

And thy brave and thrifty burghers
boasted, in their uncouth rhyme,
That their great imperial city
stretched its hand through every clime.

Everywhere I see around me
rise the wondrous world of Art:
Fountains wrought with richest sculpture
standing in the common mart;

And above cathedral doorways
saints and bishops carved in stone,
By a former age commissioned
as apostles to our own.

Vanished is the ancient splendour,
and before my dreamy eye
Wave these mingling shapes and figures,
like a faded tapestry.

Not thy Councils, not thy Kaisers,
win for thee the world's regard;
But thy painter, Albrecht Dürer,
and Hans Sachs, thy cobbler-bard.

Thus, O Nuremberg, a wanderer
from a region far away,
As he paced thy streets and court-yards,
sang in thought his careless lay.

Henry W. Longfellow, 1888

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General view, from the World Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel, published by Koberger, Nuremberg, 1493

Historical and Cultural Development

The presence of a castle on the sandstone hill north of the river Pegnitz probably accounts for a town being built on the poor sandy soil of the wooded plain, on territory originally settled by Bavarians. The castle became important under Henry III who, wishing to compensate for the loss of land resulting from Henry II's foundation of bishoprics, tried to salvage the land that lay between the bishoprics of Bamberg and Eichstätt. The name *nourenberc* appears for the first time in a document dated 16 July 1050 freeing the serfs of Sigena during the Emperor's temporary residence "on his own land".

Protected by the castle the settlement on the slope of the "rocky mountain" grew rapidly, especially after 1070 when its fame as a place of pilgrimage spread, as the bones of St. Sebaldus had been buried there in St. Peter's Chapel. During the lifetime of Henry III it obtained the right to hold fairs. It first spread quite irregularly on the southern slope of the castle mound, where the farm buildings and domestic offices of the castle lay as well as the royal church of St. Egidius, right down to the Pegnitz. Separate from this "Sebaldus Town", another called "Lawrence Town" rose across on the left bank, next to a royal farm established by Conrad II, near St. Jacob's. This had a uniform plan with main streets running east to west joined by short transversal streets.

This is how one of the most important trading centres of Southern Germany came into being. Its importance was due in part to external influences such as Imperial protection but also to the efforts of its industrious citizens, who tried to find a livelihood other than the meagre return from poor soil. As early as 1163 the law of the merchants of Nuremberg had become the model for the merchants of Amberg and Bamberg. And the rudiments of city law and of an administration of its own were already in existence when, on 8 November 1219, Frederic II granted the citizens of his "beloved city" monetary and customs privileges, in addition

to a number of economic guarantees by charter. Yet a number of years passed before the settlement of St. Sebaldus and St. Lawrence, each with its separate walls, were described together as *universitas civium* in 1245, and the two centres were finally enclosed by a single wall in 1323.

The formation of the city, completed around 1350, ran parallel to its growth. Though the town, still very much considered by the Hohenstaufen family as part of their possessions, had first been administered firmly by a kind of Lord Lieutenant, entitled a *Reichsschultheiss*, the close link between the city and the Emperor became looser at the time of the struggle between Emperor and Pope, and looser still during the interregnum. In 1339 the position of *Reichsschultheiss* was transferred to a leading citizen and merchant of the town, Konrad Gross, the founder of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost. Nuremberg now developed into an independent city state with obligations to none but the Emperor, its definite form of government being established by 1313: apart from the Great Council of the "nominated", there was the small Inner Council, elected by the Great Council, which met annually. This consisted of 26 members, of which 13, the "older Burgomasters", alternated in the conduct of affairs on a four-weekly rota, while the 13 "Younger Burgomasters" sat as jurors in the mayoral court. The so-called Inner Council of the seven "Old Gentlemen" was led by two *Losungers*. The city thus created for itself a system of self-government that lasted until 1794, in which the rise to power by individuals was prevented by mutual control, alternation of office, elections and majority decisions, but where the influence of the ordinary citizens was very small. This became increasingly so when the families eligible for office who had over a time increased to 42 from among those of the wealthy merchant families, formed themselves into an exclusive patrician élite in 1521.

The relation of the city to the Castle Counts and later Margraves was much more problematical than the city's detachment from the Emperor, to whom it remained closely bound even as a Free Imperial City. Around 1105, the Salian Counts von Raab had been installed as *castellani*, i. e. administrators of the Royal Castle situated on the eastern half of the Castle rock. Conrad III, the first Hohenstaufen on the throne, handed over this castle with the pentagonal tower to the Castle Counts, and erected another, the Imperial Castle, on the western terrace with its steep declivities. This was completed as an imperial palace by Frederic Barbarossa in 1183. From there the

Hohenstaufen conducted the power politics of an East Franconian house. Meanwhile, the castle of the Castle Counts had become a hereditary fief and then, in 1192, passed over to Frederic II of Hohenzollern by marriage. At the same time, his House joined with the city to improve their position and to increase their wealth. The Hohenzollern expansionist policy was bound to lead to increased rivalry, for not only did they acquire extensive lands all over Franconia but also a number of rights in and around Nuremberg, including that of appointing the Principal Forester of the Northern Imperial Forest, an important position, the control of the Rural Court and the chairmanship of the City Court, the tax on smithies in the town and the rates on dwellings of the Lawrence sector.

Although the Castle Counts (later the Margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach and Brandenburg-Bayreuth) remained a permanent menace with their territories enclosing the city to the south, west and north, they could not prevent its ultimate rise; in fact, the struggle lasted until 1806 when Nuremberg became part of Bavaria.

Over the years, the increasing economic importance of Nuremberg found expression in the physical appearance of the town. The large churches of St. Sebaldus and St. Lawrence had been erected in the 13th century. A Town Hall was built in 1332—40 and, on the site of the demolished ghetto, the Frauenkirche (Church of our Lady) after 1349. By the end of the 14th century the seven monasteries of the mendicant orders and the charitable hospital foundations of the Holy Ghost, St. Martha and The Twelve Brethren were already in existence.

This growth was due not solely to the trade carried on with distant parts by the patricians, but also to the thriving crafts plied with proverbial ingenuity, particularly in wrought and cast metal. An incomplete list of 1363 gives the names of 1219 masters in 50 occupations, 30 of which in the working of metals.

Trade with the north included Flanders as well as Poland and Silesia; the south, particularly the countries of Bohemia and Hungary; and with Venice at times trade developed into a monopoly. Nuremberg became one of the most important trading centres for cloth from Flanders; pelts and furs from the east; for all goods from the East passing through Venice; for metals — some of the patrician families having considerable interests in the mining and smelting of iron in the Upper Palatinate; and in wine.

Accumulating profits made possible not only the growth of the city, religious and charitable foundations and a brilliant cultural life, but also loans to the ever-impecunious emperors, thus indirectly influencing the policy of the realm and leading to the granting of further privileges. For example, under Louis of Bavaria, the merchants of Nuremberg obtained exemption from tolls and customs at 72 gates of the realm. Charles IV who stayed in the city more than 40 times, often for several months, decreed in the Golden Bull of 1356 that every newly-elected German king should hold his first Diet in Nuremberg. In 1424 the city was designated as the place of safekeeping for the crown jewels, thus visibly acknowledging the importance attached to the Free Imperial City. Nuremberg had reached the summit of its power, its economic and cultural prime.

For about a 100 years, the mid-15th to the mid-16th century, Nuremberg was the centre of a fascinating concentration of intellectual and cultural forces; a centre of German Humanism (Conrad Celtis, Willibald Pirckheimer, Christoph Scheurl, Hartmann Schedel), science, painting and sculpture. Regiomontanus, the mathematician and astronomer, was working there. Martin Behaim designed the first terrestrial globe that has come to us; Erhard Etzlaub used what became to be known as the Mercator projection still in use today, for sea charts; Peter Henlein made small portable clocks or watches; Anton Koberger employed up to a hundred men in his printing press; master singing, the popular form of poetry, was at its height with Hans Rosenplüt and Hans Sachs. The works of the greatest painters and sculptors at the time, the woodcarvings of Veit Stoss, the stone carvings of Adam Krafft, the bronzes of the Vischer family, the paintings and graphic works of Albrecht Dürer comprised the transition from Late Gothic to the Renaissance and were creations of European importance.

The city as a whole had two notable achievements: it succeeded in buying the Castle from the Castle-Count and Margrave, thus at last becoming master within its own walls; in 1505, having taken part in the Landshut War of Succession, it obtained the long-coveted territory extending beyond the Imperial Forest, which had been maintained through plantation since 1368. Lauf, Hersbruck, Altdorf, Velden, Gräfenberg and their surroundings became Nuremberg territory, and remained so for 300 years.

By the middle of the 16th century the city was past its peak. Thanks to the enlightened outlook created by its humanism, the Free City managed to

weather the storm of the Reformation, the greatest controversy of the century within the Church, without violence and iconoclasm. And in the cultural sphere there were still plenty of achievements. Augustin Hirschvogel went on running his father's workshop carrying out painting on glass. Pankraz Labenwolf and his nephew Benedikt Wurzelbauer maintained the tradition of Nuremberg casting. The two Jamnitzers were goldsmiths and engravers, whose works were in demand beyond the confines of Nuremberg, as were the appealing miniatures of the Glockendons. Hans Leo Hassler's compositions introduced Italian forms into German music. On the advice of Philipp Melanchthon the first grammar school was established in 1526.

However, conversion to Protestantism did lead to the first difficulties with the Emperor: no Parliament met in Nuremberg after 1543. Barely 10 years later the losses of the second "War of the Margraves", in which the city was saved but the countryside ravaged, pillaged and burned by Albrecht Alcibiades' roaming bands, resulted in the first heavy demands on the City Treasury. These were, however, bearable for two years later, in 1555, the imposing round towers for the strengthening of the city gates were built. In 1578 a university was established at Altdorf and an ambitious plan to erect a new town hall was carried out between 1616 and 1622. Private life, in particular that of the patricians, was still completely geared to expansion. The changed trade routes resulting from the discovery of America were more than compensated for by the opening up of new markets, especially in the East. In 1615 a public bank was established to maintain the stability of Nuremberg's currency. Around that time, at the turn of the century, the most opulent patrician dwellings, such as the houses of the Toplers, the Fembos and the Pellers were built.

The Thirty Years War which paralysed trade, struck at the very heart of the city's life, especially as the population of about 40 000 had been decimated by the plague. Yet initiative in the cultural field still existed: Georg Philipp Harsdörffer and Johann Klaj founded the "Pegnesian Order of Flowers" for the furthering of language and poetry in 1644; there were the painters Sandrart and Kupezky, the musicians Pachelbel. After the fire of 1696 the church of St. Egidius was rebuilt in Baroque style and a number of Baroque gardens were laid out. But once the drive which the city had possessed during the Middle Ages was broken, its political and economic

decline became inevitable. The patricians had not been up to date in their trading methods for a long time and had become frozen into a pattern of social life; they were not able to cope with the demands of rising mercantilism and its protective tariffs. Formerly ingenious and inventive craftsmen changed over to cheap mass production. The city debt amounted to 7¹/₂ million Gulden at the end of the Thirty Years War and grew and grew. Higher taxes, the only remedy contemplated by the Council, led to protests by the citizens and to emigration, crippling commerce still further. By the end of the 18th century the city was on the verge of bankruptcy. Joining Prussia, advocated in 1796 to enable a reorganisation of its finances, did not come about. Instead, Nuremberg became Bavarian in 1806 in accordance with the Statutes of the Confederation of the Rhine. The Free City lost its lustre and became a provincial town, with no share in government, without the cultural impetus of a capital. Yet new life did come to it. The old spirit of enterprise led to the construction of the first German railway, from Nuremberg to Fürth, inaugurated by Johannes Scharrer in 1835. The craft workshops of the 18th century were transformed into modern industrial enterprises, such as those of Friedrich Klett, Theodor Kramer, Sigmund Schuckert. In the course of the 19th century Nuremberg became one of the leading industrial centres of Bavaria.

Meanwhile the Romantics, led by Ludwig Tieck and Wilhelm Wackenroder, who as early as 1793 had gazed in admiration at the panorama of the city, seeing in it the embodiment of the spirit of the Middle Ages, discovered historical Nuremberg. "The jewel box of the Kingdom" became the symbol of medieval Germany, the Mecca of painters and poets, and, for Hans von Aufsess, the only possible place for the establishment in 1852 of the Germanic National Museum, which was to give a comprehensive picture of the art and culture of Germany.

This image of its historical significance, indeed of its mission, was responsible for the favours Nuremberg enjoyed during the Third Reich. It became the city of the Party rallies, and after the war, the place of the war crimes trials.

After being all but annihilated in the last war, the city was brought to new life by the ingenuity and tenacity of its people. Nuremberg has become a large urban centre open to contemporary influences, though it has remained faithful to itself and its traditions.



Fleischbrücke and Herrenmarkt, 1670



The way up to the Castle, etching by Joh. Jakob Kirchner, ar. 1822

The Castle

Situated above the city of Nuremberg on its sandstone ridge, which runs from east to west, this castle, more than any other, has been at the centre of German history. Numerous courts and diets were held there. Between 1050 and 1571 every acknowledged German king and emperor stayed there for longer or shorter periods.

It covers an area of 200 m by 50 m; its plan and structure date from various periods and consist of 3 complexes: the Imperial Castle buildings grouped round an inner and outer courtyard to the west, the remains of the Castle of the Castle Counts with its pentagonal keep; and the buildings of the Imperial City to the east, comprising the Imperial Stables, watch-tower and bastions.

A castle rose on the eastern rock in the 11th century under the Saliens, probably on the remains of an earlier one, with the pentagonal tower serving as keep. After 1105 it was administered by the Counts von Raabs, eventually becoming the hereditary fief of the so-called 'Castle Counts'. Conrad III built a new one, the Imperial Castle, on the western terrace with its steep declivities, between 1138 and 1140. Under Frederic Barbarossa this was enlarged by various alterations into what was called palatium — the Imperial Palace. It was defended against the castle of the Castle Counts by a face wall with its round keep, the Sinwellturm, in the centre. Beyond the second crosswall it consisted of the *Heidenturm*, projecting to the east, the choir of the double chapel and the palace.

After 1313, during the absence of the king, the Castle was placed under the protection of the city, which under Emperor Sigismund also undertook the maintenance of the "Fortress of the Realm". This enabled the city to intensify the cold war it was waging against the Hohenzollern, who were the Castle Counts. Between 1362 and 1377 the city embarked on the strengthening of the fortifications on the side of the castle of the Castle Counts; in 1377 it built the watch tower "in order that one might look into the castle of the Margraves". The arguments took a warlike turn and the city occupied the castle between 1388 and 1389. Finally, after it had burnt down in 1420, the Hohenzollern sold it to the city in 1427.

The 15th century not only led to drastic changes in ownership: Emperor Frederic III had had Barbarossa's palace replaced in 1440—42 and in 1487 —

except for the chapel — by a new construction in the Late Gothic style. This extended further to the north and west, and, following the earlier plan of the Hohenstaufen, made it into a whole, completely occupying the south side, which rises steeply above the city. In 1494–95 the town had Hans Beheim the E. build the “Corn House on Castle Hill”, the so-called Imperial Stables, used as such during the emperor’s visits, and in the 16th century it strengthened the castle by mighty bastions on the plans of the Italian builder of fortifications, Antoni Fazuni, incorporating them into the defence system of the city. Although the castle now had lost importance, the Diet did meet there, for the last time, in 1543. Imperial visits only rarely took place in the 17th and 18th centuries but it continued to be an imperial possession until 1806 when, together with Nuremberg, it passed to Bavaria.

Comprehensive restorations first made in 1934, getting rid of the alterations made by Heideloff and again after 1945 making good the considerable war damage, have enabled the original image of one of the most important German imperial castles to rise again as we know it from contemporary drawings.

The Imperial Castle

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>Heidenturm</i>
(Tower of the Heathens) | Choir tower of the castle chapel. Square building of careful freestone work: on the upper floor Romanesque architectural carving; the lower part from ar. 1138–40, the rest 1170–80. |
| Chapel | 1170–80. Of artistic importance, the oldest building in its original state, on two levels with tribune. The two super-imposed chapels, each with four supports; joined by an opening of the central bay, those of the lower chapel with richly ornamented chessboard capitals, those of the upper chapel slim, of light coloured marble. |
| Palace | The result of various alterations. Originally Romanesque, 1170–80. Rebuilt 1440–42, older parts being utilized; extended westwards 1487 and 1559–60. On ground-floor so-called Knights Hall with beams borne by five columns. Above this Emperor’s Hall with 16th century green-tiled stove, audience chamber of the Emperor with 15th century wainscot partly restored and copy of the ceiling with heraldic emblems (original of 1520, destroyed); emperor’s living room with 15th century ceiling, eagle decorations, 1520 wainscot and tiled stove of 1611. |

Sinwell or Vestner Tower Probably 12th century; keep of the Imperial Castle, the only medieval round tower in Nuremberg

Deep Well First mentioned in 14th cent. but probably as old as the castle, inside well house of 1563 with half-timbered upper storey, in the centre of the outer courtyard.

Former Castle of the Castle Counts

Pentagonal Tower The oldest construction preserved, not only of the castle but of the whole city, possibly part of the 11th century Salic Royal Castle, square building of carefully cut humped blocks with massive three-sided reinforcement facing the enemy.

Walpurgis Chapel Romanesque church with choir tower, largely destroyed 1420, rebuilt in Gothic style.

Buildings of the Imperial City

Imperial Stables 1494—95. Built as granary by Hans Beheim the E.; monumental sandstone structure with late Gothic steep roof.

Luginsland (Lookout) Square tower with polygonal roof and 4 dormers, built 1377 for observation of the castle of the Castle Counts.

Churches

All Saints Chapel of former Landauer House of the Twelve Brethren

In the early 16th century Matthäus Landauer founded the House of the Brethren for old craftsmen close to the *Laufer Schlagturm*; the chapel built by Hans Beheim the E., 1506–07, a three-aisled, practically square hall with free-standing ribbed vaults, all but destroyed 1945, rebuilt 1956–57.

St. Egidius Egidienplatz

A group of buildings with several chapels on the site of outhouses of the castle of the early middle ages with private royal chapel; Scottish monastery established 1138–42 under Conrad III.

Main building: ar. 1150 construction of large Romanesque monastery church, three-aisled basilica with piers, transept, choir, and west front with two towers; burnt down in 1696, rebuilt by Johann and Gottlieb Trost with monumental west front with two towers using material from the old church; the oval hall leads to the transept and deep choir; formerly rich stucco work by Donato Polli, badly damaged 1945. Rebuilt with partial alterations (choir, stucco).

Wolfgang Chapel, originally the oldest part, before 1120, possibly 11th century, completely altered in the early 18th century.

Eucharius Chapel, first chapel built 1120–30, probably intended as private royal chapel; single aisle, flat ceiling, apse. Ar. 1220–30, altered to its present form with two aisles, cross-ribbed vault and fine capitals; around 1350 apse pulled down to make room for

Tetzel Chapel, replacing choir. Roughcast sandstone structure; single-vaulted 5/8 enclosed. Inside monument to Landauer by Adam Krafft with coronation of the Virgin, 1503.

Inside Eucharius Chapel, hinged relief of the Annunciation from the workshop of Veit Stoss, 1514.

St. Elisabeth Ludwigstrasse

Hospital of St. Elisabeth of the Teutonic Knights built ar. 1220 outside the city wall near the White Tower with its own church.

Survived the Reformation as Catholic enclave; present church Baroque construction of 1784 begun by Franz Ignaz Michael Neumann, continued 1785–88, first by Peter Anton Verschaffelt then by Wilhelm Ferdinand Lipper according to their own plans, completed as late as 1902–3; after war damage, 1947–50 construction of new dome; classical central building with circular vaulted inside and 16 Corinthian columns.

- Frauenkirche**
(Our Lady's Church) Begun after 1349, at the suggestion of Emperor Charles IV, with the Fruit Market and the Main Market on the site of the destroyed Ghetto. 1355 designated Church of the Imperial Court placed under the Foundation of the Augustinian choristers of Prague; completed 1358 at the latest. Oldest hall-church of Franconia, noticeable Bohemian influence. On square plan with three aisles, deep choir, 5/8 enclosed; unusually ornate west front with three-sided porch, imperial balustrade and three-sided Michael's *Chörlein* (oriel), on whose open work gable the *Männleinlaufen*, representing the seven Electors paying homage to Charles IV, clock by J. Heuss, and figures by Sebastian Lindenast the E.; 1945 largely destroyed; restored by 1955; original furnishings mostly removed during the secularisation of 1812, the present ones in part from other Nuremberg churches, among others the Tucher Altar, one of the most important Nuremberg paintings prior to those of Dürer, by the anon. Master of the Tucher Altar, 1440–45 for the *Augustinerkirche*. Two monuments by Adam Krafft, that of Peringstorff of 1498, the other of Hans Rebeck, who died 1500, with Coronation of the Virgin.
- St. Jacob's**
Jakobsplatz Originally Romanesque church of the Royal Court, on the left bank of the Pegnitz; gift to the Order of the Teutonic Knights by Emperor Otto IV, 1209; present edifice 14th, 15th and 16th centuries; renovated several times since the 19th century restoration by K. A. Heideloff; completely restored once more after serious war damage. Important high altar by the Master of the Altar of St. Jakob in Nuremberg around 1370. Painted glass of the 15th and 16th centuries.
- St. Lawrence**
Königstrasse A Lawrence Chapel situated on the eastern edge of the settlement beyond St. Jakob's near the Royal Court was mentioned 1235 the first time. The construction of the existing church intended as parish church for "Lawrence Town" begun either 1274 or 1295. Of the first parts then built those on the east side have not survived, but the first sections of the vault on the west have. The nave followed being built in the first half of the 14th century, the eastern part in the second half. It is a long aisled hall of considerable height with ribbed vault inspired by Strasbourg and Freiburg; the west front, one of the most ornate in Germany, has two towers, porch, rose window and gable. In the fourteen eighties the lateral aisles were extended outwards except for the flight of buttresses; 1439–77 a new higher choir was built, one of the finest German hall choirs with ambulatory and absidial chapels; plan by

Konrad Heinzelmann who superintended the construction till 1454, followed by Konrad Roritzer and Jacob Grimm; 1943–45 serious war damage; restored.

Appointments sumptuous and of high quality: choir windows of painted glass; Adoration against piers of the nave (Madonna 1280–90, Three Kings ar. 1360); shrine of Deocarus of 1406; Imhoff Altar 1418–21; but foremost the tabernacle by Adam Krafft of 1493–95 and the locket with the Annunciation by Veit Stoss of 1517–18.

St. Sebaldus
Albrecht-Dürer-Platz

A chapel to St. Peter had existed on the slope of the castle mount since the 11th century. The growing importance of the pilgrimages to the grave of St. Sebaldus it contained eventually led to the change of patron saint. 1230–40 construction of the existing church begun by masons from Bamberg and Ebrach; on account of the two patron saints still with two choirs, the western for St. Peter, the eastern for St. Sebaldus; Romanesque piers basilica with towers in the west and transept in the east. Eastern choir with apse, and crypt with double nave; western choir polygonal, with single nave crypt; cross-ribbed vault above three-part wall with arcade and triforium; ar. 1300 larger windows in west choir; shortly thereafter the side aisles widened to extend to the full length of the transept; 1361–79 reconstruction of east choir which now comprises more than half the church, much higher and lighter than the first, possibly by a Master of the Parler circle. It is one of the oldest hall choirs of Germany. 1482–83 west towers raised: belfry surmounted by balcony and short polygonal spires.

Severely damaged 1944–45; restored; appointments particularly sumptuous and of high quality: monument to Schreyer on outer wall of east choir by Adam Krafft, 1490–92. Inside, madonna in halo, ar. 1430; the Volckamer Passion by Veit Stoss, 1499; Crucifixion by Veit Stoss, 1506–7 and 1520; tomb of St. Sebaldus by Peter Vischer the E. and sons Peter the Y. and Hermann the Y., 1508–19; Tucher monument by Hans von Kulmbach designed by Dürer, 1513; glass painting in choir partly by Veit Hirschvogel, 1514–15.



St. Sebaldus with shrine of Saint, engraving, first half of 19th century



Albrecht Dürer, engraving by L. Kilian, 1608.
Taken from Dürer's self-portrait in the stained
glass window of Madonna in the Rosary,
Strakow Abbey, Prague

Illustrious Citizens

- Behaim, Martin B. Nuremberg 1459, d. Lisbon 29. 7. 1507
Mariner, cosmographer; business journeys to Holland followed by stay in Portugal, took part in Diego Cao's second voyage of discovery; designed the oldest globe extant.
- Beham, Barthel B. Nuremberg 1502, d. Italy 1540
Painter and engraver. Some time court painter in Munich and Landshut; numerous portraits of royalty.
- Dürer, Albrecht B. Nuremberg 21. 5. 1471, d. Nuremberg 6. 4. 1528
Painter, graphic artist, engraver, writer on art. Doubtless the most influential artist of the period between Late Gothic and Renaissance — the "age of Dürer". Ab. 100 paintings, incl. Adoration of the Magi, ar. 1502; Paumgärtner Altar, 1504; the Virgin with the siskin, 1506; Adam and Eve, 1507; Apostles, 1526; several self portraits. His approx. 900 drawings, 350 woodcuts and 100 engravings unsurpassed in expressiveness and perfection of form: Apocalypse, 1498; woodcut series of the life of the Virgin, 1504–11; the "Small Passion" (woodcuts), 1509–11; the "Passion" (engravings), 1508–12; "Knight, Death and the Devil", 1513; "Melancholia I", "St. Jerome in his study"; portrait of his mother, 1514.
- Flötner, Peter B. ar. 1485, d. Nuremberg 23. 11. 1546
Wood carver, wood engraver and goldsmith. Settled in Nuremberg 1522. Introduced north Italian style, thus becoming a pioneer of the Renaissance in Germany.
Main works: decorations of Hirschvogelsaal, 1534; Tucher garden pavillon (s. c. *Tucherschlosschen*, 1533–44) only partly preserved, both in Nuremberg.
- Hassler (Hasler), B. Nuremberg 25 or 26. 10. 1564, d. Francfort 8. 6. 1612
Hans Leo The most important composer of his time next to Praetorius; very Italianate style.
- Henlein, Peter B. Nuremberg ar. 1480, d. Nuremberg summer 1542
(wrongly Hele) Locksmith; the first, ar. 1510, to make small portable watches in casings chiming the hours, running 40 hours.

- Hirschvogel, or Hirsvogel Family of artists of the 15th and 16th centuries.
 Augustin, b. Nuremberg 1503, d. Vienna 1553
 Glass painter, graphic artist, potter and cartographer; numerous etchings of landscapes, influenced by Danubian school, and ceramics with brilliant glazes in the Italian style.
 Veit, b. Nuremberg 1461, d. Nuremberg 1525
 Glass painter, and Master Glass Painter of the City of Nuremberg.
 Master of an important workshop for glass paintings on designs of A. Dürer, Hans Baldung and Hans v. Kulmbach.
- Jamnitzer, Christoph B. Nuremberg 12. 5. 1563, d. Nuremberg 1618
 Goldsmith, engraver and draughtsman, 1610 published the *Neuw Grottezken Buch* . . . (Book of New Grotesques), work on decoration with etchings.
 Principal work: decorative ewer and basin with Triumphs acc. to Petrarc, Vienna.
- Jamnitzer, Wenzel B. Vienna 1508, d. Nuremberg 19. 12. 1585
 Goldsmith and engraver; principally created outstanding decorative vessels, s. a. the Merkel centrepiece, ar. 1549, Paris; 1568 published *Perspektiva corporum regularium*.
- Koberger, Anton B. Nuremberg ar. 1445, d. Nuremberg 3. 10. 1513
 One of the most important printers, publishers and booksellers of the 15th century. In his Nuremberg printing office, on 24 presses and employing up to 100 persons, he produced, between 1470 and 1500, approximately 250 books which sold all over Europe.
 Most important works published: German Bible, 1483; *Schatzbehalter* (Treasury), 1491; "Schedel's Chronicle of the World", in Latin and German, 1493.
- Krafft (or Kraft), B. Nuremberg ar. 1460, d. Schwabach 1508/09
 Adam One of the most outstanding Late Gothic sculptors. Lived and worked all his life in Nuremberg.
 Most important works: Monument of S. Schreyer (1490—92); Tabernacle of St. Lawrence's (1493—96); Stations to the Cross along the way to St. John's chapel.
- Pirkheimer, Willibald B. Eichstätt 5. 12. 1470, d. Nuremberg 22. 12. 1530
 Influential humanist and Nuremberg councillor; studied law in Padua and Pavia; led the Nuremberg auxiliary forces in Maximilian's war against the Swiss in 1499; also translated Greek works into Latin.

- Sachs, Hans** B. Nuremberg 13. 2. 1440, d. Nuremberg 28. 11. 1514
Shoemaker and poet. As master singer the best-known representative of the popular literature of the 16th century. Wrote 4200 master songs and 85 carnival plays; important part in the development of drama.
- Schedel, Hartmann** B. Nuremberg 13. 2. 1440, d. Nuremberg 28. 11. 1514
Humanist historian; City Physician. Author of the Schedel World Chronicle in Latin, 1493. His large library is important for the history of humanism.
- Stoss, Veit** B. Nuremberg? between 1440–50, d. Nuremberg 1533
Sculptor, etcher, painter. One of the greatest sculptors of the German late Gothic style.
Major works: High altar of St. Mary's, Cracow, 1477–89; Annunciation in St. Lawrence's, Nuremberg, 1517–18; High altar for the Carmelites, 1520–23, now in Bamberg Cathedral; painted altar piece at Münnerstadt, ar. 1500.
- Vischer** Family of bronze casters of the 15th and 16th centuries. Hermann the E. started foundry in Nuremberg in 1453; his son Peter the E. became an independent master after 1489; 4 sons all of whom were active as bronze casters: Hermann the Y., Peter the Y., Hans and Paulus.

Peter the E., the most prominent among them, born Nuremberg ab. 1460, d. Nuremberg 7. 1. 1529.
Under him the foundry became the most important one of the early Renaissance in Germany.
Major works: monument to Archbishop Ernst of Saxony in Magdeburg Cathedral (1494–95); tomb of St. Sebaldus in St. Sebaldus', Nuremberg 1508–19; statues of Theoderic and Artus for the tomb of Maximilian in Innsbruck, 1512–13.

Peter the Y., b. Nuremberg 1487, d. Nuremberg 1528
First important maker of figurines and medallist.
Works: in addition to numerous medals, chiefly the small statues on the Sebaldus Tomb, Nuremberg, 1508–19.
- Wolff, Jacob the E.** B. Bamberg ar. 1546, d. Nuremberg before 16. 7. 1612
Architect and sculptor; built the new part of the Marienberg Castle and the *Echertor* in Würzburg, 1601–05, and the *Pellerhaus*, Nuremberg, one of the grandest private mansions of the German Renaissance, 1602–07.

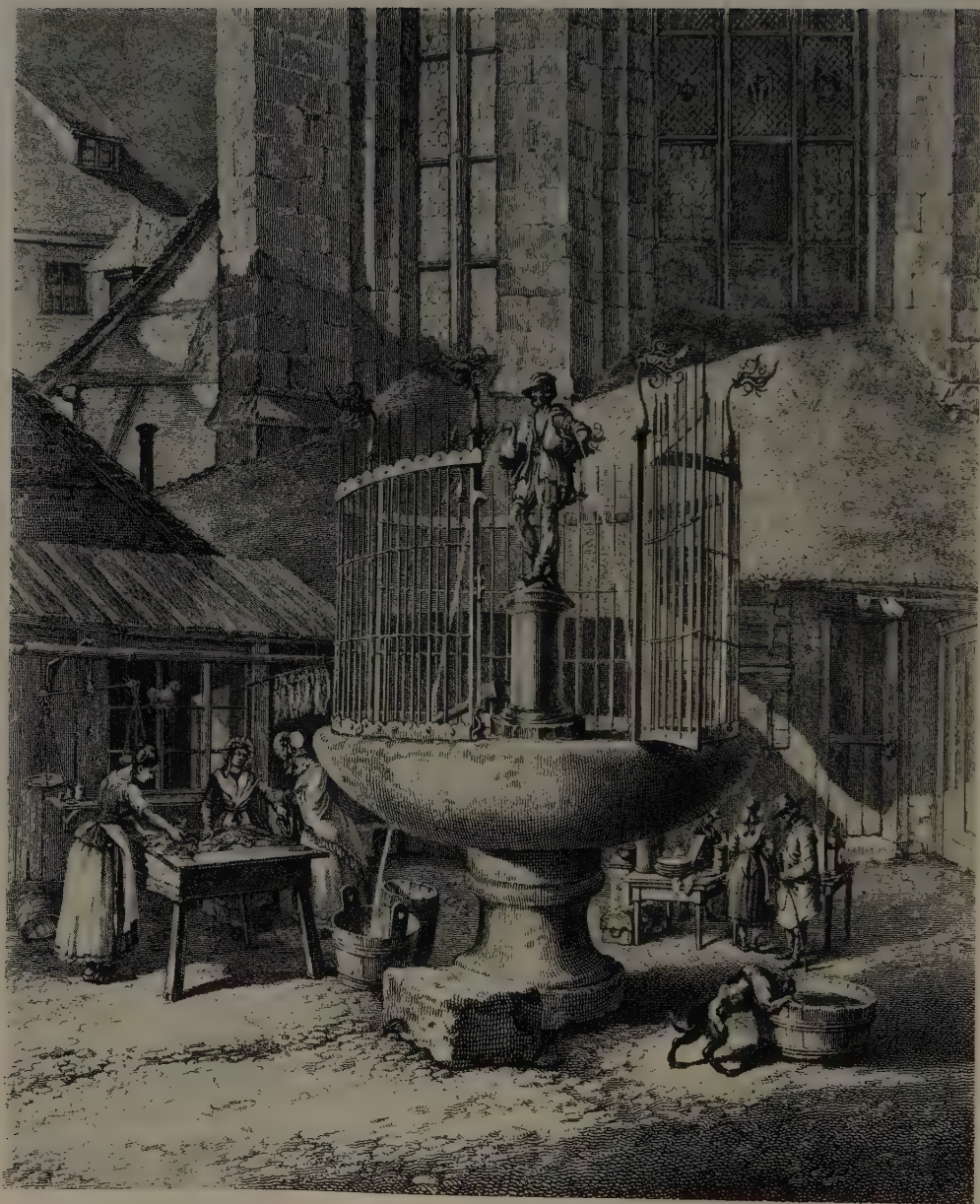
- Wolff, Jacob the Y. B. probably Bamberg 1571, d. Nuremberg 25. 2. 1620
Architect, built the Nuremberg Town Hall, completed 1622 which, together with E. Holls' Town Hall in Augsburg, ranks first among the civic edifices of the period.
- Wurzelbauer, Benedikt B. Nuremberg 25. 9. 1548, d. Nuremberg 2. 10. 1620
Bronze caster and sculptor, nephew of Labenwolf, whose workshop he took over. Strongly influenced by Dutch Mannerists and W. Jamnitzer.
Main works, fountains: *Tugendbrunnen*, Nuremberg; *Venusbrunnen*, Prague.



Hans Sachs, woodcut by M. Ostendorfer, 1545



Willibald Pirckheimer, engraving by Albrecht Dürer, 1524



Gänsemännchen Fountain, engraving by F. Geissler after J. Falkner, first half 19th century

Fountains

From the early middle ages, Nuremberg was considered one of the German towns with a particularly good water supply. It was praised in 1594 for having "118 fountains and wells of drinking water . . . with stone pillars, and chains as well as pails," and in addition 14 water mains supplying most houses. In late 18th century there were inside the city walls: 26 fountains with jets or spouts, 116 bucket-wells in streets and public places, 1049 wells and "pipe boxes with live water" in houses and courtyards. In addition to the wells supplying ground water, the oldest of which is the deep Castle Well, water from the springs rising within the city boundaries was piped from early times, and spring water was also brought in from outside. One main, mentioned 1368, went to the *Heilig-Geist-Spital*, whose unusually high consumption could thus be guaranteed, for the hospital had more than 100 charges who were entitled to a fortnightly bath by the Deed of Foundation of 1339. This was the first of the mains to bring spring water from the surroundings into the city, consisting of wooden conduits, partly reinforced by sheetmetal, later of lead pipes, at a depth of 50 cm to 2 m below ground, under the control of the City Master of Conduits. "Artful water-machines" driven by water wheels in the Fischbach and the Pegnitz took care of the pressure. They raised the water into the reservoirs of several towers, which were initially built of wood. The oldest of these, first mentioned in 1483, stood near the *Frauentor* above the point where the Fischbach entered the city. Its mechanism raised 100 pails of water per hour four storeys high from the walled wells situated in the moat into the tanks of the tower.

Rightfully proud of this system of waterworks and mains — one of the oldest in Germany — the Council for once abandoned its strictly utilitarian principles when it came to fountains. In addition to the plain water supply for the inhabitants, those fountains near civic buildings which were exposed to the public eye were richly ornamented, and later on were put up for purely decorative purposes.

- Appollobrunnen* (originally in the *Herrenschliesshaus*, later in the court of Town Hall)
in *Pellerhaus* court Apollo shooting an arrow, bronze statue on square pedestal with lizards,
since 1957 snails and putti riding on dolphins spouting water. Designed by Peter Flötner;
cast by Hans Vischer and Jacobo de Barbari in 1532.
- Dudelsackpfeiferbrunnen* (originally at the corner of Ebnersgasse/Heugasse).
(fountain of bagpipe Bronze figure of piper on stone basin with wrought iron grille.
player) Unschlittplatz
- Gänsemännchen Fountain* Bronze figure of so-called gooseman, a farmer with two geese under his arms
Rathausgässchen standing above stone basin with wrought iron grille. Cast ar. 1550 by
Pankraz Labenwolf.
- Geiersbrunnen* Vulture carrying a lamb into his nest sitting over stone basin, surrounded
(Fountain of the vulture) by wrought iron grille, 1906 by Leistner.
on Geiersberg
- Hanselbrunnen* Bronze figure of shawm-player sitting above stone basin, with wrought iron
in small outer court grille, modern cast from the 1380, original in German. Nationalmuseum.
of *Heilig-Geist-Spital* Earliest Nuremberg bronze figure extant.
- Puttenbrunnen* Putto with shield and pennant, and eight dolphins spouting water from a tall
in courtyard of Townhall and slim fluted column into a shell-shaped basin. Bronze cast by
Pankraz Labenwolf, 1549–57.
- Schöner Brunnen* The "Beautiful Fountain", most famous of all Nuremberg fountains.
Hauptmarkt This rises above the low octagon of the basin to a height of 19 m, a four-
stepped, openwork stone pyramid with buttresses and flying buttresses,
finnials, tracery, pinnacles and canopies over part of the rows of 40 figures;
coloured surround. Probably the work of three masters, planned ar. 1370,
completed 1396, restored several times, replaced by copy 1897–1902. (Original
in German. Nationalmuseum) Wrought iron grille by T. Kuhn, 1587, with rotating
seamless golden ring.
- Deep well Probably the most ancient in the city, first mentioned in 14th century document,
in outer court 16th century well-house, depth 50 m, water level 3 m, up to 8 freestone layers
of castle below the parapet in the live rock.

<i>Tritonbrunnen</i> (Triton Fountain) Maxplatz	Large textured sandstone basin with another borne by 4 dolphins, inside which a triton blowing a conch, after the Fontana del Tritone in Rome, by Leonhard Bromig, 1689.
<i>Tugendbrunnen</i> (Fountain of the Virtues) by northern façade of St. Lawrence	Octagonal sandstone basin and three-tiered bronze super structure richly decorated with figures; 6 of the 7 Cardinal Virtues, above them boys blowing trumpets and holding the Nuremberg coat of arms, surmounted by Justice with crane as symbol of vigilance; by Benedikt Wurzelbauer, 1584–89.

Houses, Courtyards, Oriels and Dormers

Up to the second world war, Nuremberg more than any other German city, had a uniform Gothic and Renaissance appearance. Since the romantic era it has been considered an essence of medieval city architecture, a prized and cherished symbol of medieval culture and way of life.

On 2. 1. 1945 the Old Town was 90% destroyed and of approximately 2800 historical buildings, only 1/10th survived and most of these were greatly damaged. By using the old material wherever possible, the preservation of the original disposition of streets and public squares and the complete integration of modern architecture made it possible to give back to the Old Town its attractive and characteristic appearance. The variety of styles in the city, before 1945, the incredibly harmonious vitality of the aspect presented by the streets, despite the building regulations of an Imperial City due to the integration of the different parts into a whole, can only be reconstructed in one's mind now from a few surviving examples. Apart from a few sandstone tower dwellings — such as the *Nassauer Haus* — there were only half-timbered houses in the town up to the middle of the 15th century. The placing of the timbers was purely functional, decorative half-timbering hardly existed. From 1450, the City Council, aware of fire risks, encouraged construction in solid red sandstone from the Castle Hill. At first, only the groundfloor was built of freestone; *Weinstadel* and *Pilatushaus* are fine examples of this. From 1598 onwards only the upper storeys could be half-timbered. In 1622 half-timbering was prohibited altogether, though a few exceptions were made again after 1686. The Council also determined the height of the houses: according to a building regulation of 1479 a half-timbered house could only measure

12.2 m up to the guttering and a stone house 15.2 m. In 1522 these measurements were increased to 12.8 m, and 15.8 m, respectively. However, as neither minimum height nor the number of floors, neither width nor depth were stipulated, the individual owner still enjoyed considerable latitude in the construction of his house, which made its appearance all the more pleasing.

When sandstone construction took over the actual shape did not change. Houses continued to have their eaves in the front, to be smooth and plain as a rule, yet distinguished by salient window and door surrounds. The gable may have become more structured, more ornate, exclusively through brick blend arcading, as seen most impressively on the houses of Adlerstr. 14, Weinmarkt 2, the 1332–40 part of the Townhall, and the *Mauthalle*.

It is remarkable that both private and civic architecture followed the same principles. Restraint was as much an integral feature of building styles as of dress, and the prohibition of too great magnificence at festivities was part and parcel of the way of life of the city. The lack of ostentation imposed by the Town Council is very rarely infringed in architecture, whether for representational purposes as an Imperial City or by conscious individual confrontation. The grandest example of such display breaking the bounds of the permissible in Nuremberg architecture was the house that Martin Peller built for himself on the *Egidienberg* after great rows with the Council. He came to Nuremberg in 1581, rapidly rose to great riches but still remained a mere parvenu without political influence, according to the strict principles of the City government. But even this house, built 1602–07, apart from its magnificent façade, destroyed 1945, and the splendour of its appointments, was quite in keeping with local tradition. Like every large Nuremberg house it had an inside courtyard and consisted of a front and rear building. After 1538 open galleries with tracery or wooden balustrades in the courtyard became the usual additions. There was a relatively late return to Gothic elements in stone arcades with columns, tracery, parapets, and the staircase tower. Though damaged, the Pellerhouse remains the second surviving example of stone courtyard architecture, the first being the partially restored Welserhof, built 1509–11. The third and oldest was that of a house at Adlerstr. 19–21 built 1498, which was pulled down when a bank replaced it in 1962.

While arcades and courtyards gave scope to variations of the strict functional forms of Nuremberg architecture, the oriels and dormers decorating the front of the powerful block-like stone houses softened their matter-of-fact austerity. They became favourite elements, typical of Nuremberg architecture.

The oriels are always on the façade, often giving a stuck-on impression. The earliest surviving examples of Nuremberg oriels are those in stone on the old Townhall, decorated with tracery, and on the *Nassauerhaus* and the Sebaldus parsonage. All these clearly show their original purpose as choirs protruding from the fabric of the building, but the Nuremberg oriels of the 15th and 16th centuries which, following the changes in style of their time, were first of stone, later practically always of wood, served a different function. They still enabled leisurely contemplation but more frequently the pleasure of watching, unseen, what was going on in the street. In 1599 a citizen applied for a "projection for a lazybed".

At first the dormers expressly permitted by the Nuremberg statutes of 1479 were open dormers with wooden shutters, and housed the hoists. From 1600 on, dormers were decorative "giving the house an agreeable aspect", whose ornateness the City Fathers tried to restrict by prohibiting "arrogant dormers". Much rarer than roof dormers were ridge dormers, particularly fine examples being those on the *Pilatushaus*, and the bartizans, such as those of the *Nassauerhaus* and the former *Bestelmeyerhaus*, Winklerstrasse 37.

Apart from the oriels and dormers, decoration of Nuremberg houses was provided by house signs and house figures whose numbers have unfortunately been decimated, not only by the war. Of the approximately 50 house figures and 100 house signs, coats of arms, craft symbols and other small reliefs representing animals, etc. only a small number survive.

The pre-war aspect of Nuremberg cannot be brought back. Whole street sections, including the splendid half-timbered *Grolandhaus* of 1489, are lost for ever. So are the towerlike Renaissance structure of the *Toplerhaus*, built 1590—97 by Jakob Wolff the E., the 14th century *Bratwurstglöcklein* (Fried Sausage Bell) of the *Moritzkapelle*, the houses where Hans Sachs, Peter Vischer and Veit Stoss lived.

Yet the town still retains a wealth of buildings of merit, particularly plain and unpretentious dwellings whose preservation and restoration are as

important to the appearance of the city as a whole, as the large religious and civic buildings. The houses and courtyards, oriels and dormers listed alphabetically below enumerate but a few.

Adlerstrasse Though no longer uniform it still presents an interesting range of houses from Gothic to Rococo, half-timbered or sandstone, of gables (house nos. 14 and 16), oriels (nos. 16, 21, 28) and dormers (no. 21).

Dürerhaus Probably built in the middle of the 15th century. Dürer bought it for 275
Albrecht-Dürer-Str. 39 Florins in 1509 and lived there until his death. A four-storey corner house with two massive lower floors and two half-timbered upper ones, half-hipped roof with wooden loggia; part of the interior (e. g. kitchen) original.

Fembohaus Erected 1591–96 for the Dutch silk merchant Ph. van Oyrl, later the property
Burgstr. 15 of various patrician families; in the 18th century the Homann map-printing press; nowadays City Museum. Built on a typical Nuremberg plan with front, rear and side buildings round an inner courtyard, it is a four-storey freestone structure with high, ornate, voluted gable, square stone oriel, and dormers and wooden galleries round the courtyard.
It is the only house of wealthy citizens of the late Renaissance with original furniture and furnishings still standing.

Füll The street of dormers, not only in quantity but in quality (houses nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

Heilig-Geist-Spital Founded by Konrad Gross, built 1332–39, first enlarged 1489. The *Wasserbauten*
(Hospital of the (water buildings), the *Sude* and the *Bau* straddling the river were pulled down
Holy Ghost) in 1506 and rebuilt according to the plan of Hans Beheim the E., 1511–27;
Spitalgasse 12–14, large freestone complex restored after war damage. The *Bau*, a three-storey
Vordere Insel Schütt 2 building surrounding an inner courtyard with arcades and containing two-
aisled hall on the north; on the south wall thereof, since 1904, a crucifix by
Adam Krafft.
The *Sude*, joined to the *Bau* by the connecting two-storey freestone building
that bridges the river on two arches, has a steep saddle roof and an oriel
decorated by coats of arms cutting into the roof.

Spielzeug-Museum Probably built by Jakob Wolff the E., in the early 17th century.
(Toy Museum) Originally a corner house with three sides and small internal courtyard;
Karlstr. 13 three-storey sandstone front with ornate three-storey gable, wooden oriel 1710–20.
Modern interior, stucco ceiling of 1710–20 in only one room.

- Mauthalle** 1489–1502 erected by Hans Beheim the E., as city granary; after 1572
Hallplatz 2 Customs House (*Maut*); burnt out 1945, rebuilt 1951–53. Long monumental freestone building 20 m x 80 m, with five-storey saddleroof (ten storeys, including cellar) and five-storey hoist bay, originally half-timbered. Rich work of brick blend arcading on wall of east gable. Inside only the three-aisled cellar with ribbed crossvault preserved.
- Nassauerhaus** Substructure 13th century, upper part first half of 15th century; five-storey
Karolinenstr. 2 freestone tower building with pyramid roof, battlemented parapet with octagonal bartizans; oriel decorated with tracery and reliefs. The only remaining medieval towerhouse.
- Obere Wörthstrasse** The best example of a typical Nuremberg terraced street still extant, with half-timbered and sandstone houses, embellished by oriels and dormers. Particularly fine are nos. 17 and 19.
- Pellerhaus** Built for Martin Peller, the front building 1602–05 on the plans of Jakob Wolff, the E., rear building with two sides and internal courtyard 1605–07, under the
Egidienplatz 23 direction of Matthes Herdegen; the grandest of all Nuremberg houses of wealthy citizens, late Renaissance, largely destroyed 1945, only partially restored. Preserved: three-aisled hall on ground floor with Late Gothic star vault; staircase tower and part of the arcades of the courtyard. Now Town Record Office and City Library.
- Pilatushaus, zum** Built 1489 for the armourer Hans Grünwald. Freestone ground floor, three half-
geharnischten Mann timbered storeys, cantilevered three-storey half-timbered gable, with ridge
Obere Schmiedgasse dormer (prior to 1608).
64–66
- Rathaus (Town Hall)** Complex of Gothic, late Gothic and Renaissance buildings with two internal
Rathausplatz 2 courtyards. The oldest part is the Hall, 1332–40, rough cast brick structure with decorated steep gable of staggered design, tracery windows and plain sandstone oriel. North of this the Rathausstube building with tracery and mullioned east front built 1514–15 by Hans Beheim the E. The west part and piered hall going on to the 1616–22 courtyard by Jakob Wolff the Y. Magnificent three-storey façade with three porticos decorated with figures by Chr. Jamnitzer and L. Kern, and three pavilions on roof. Interior decoration only partly preserved following war damage.

- Sebalder Pfarrhof* (Vicarage)
Albrecht-Dürer-Platz 1 On east front the famous *Sebalder Chörlein* (oriel), the original in German Nationalmuseum, which, though untypical, is the most splendid in Nuremberg; built ab. 1370 by the craftsmen of the Sebaldus East Choir above a polygonal shaft from ground level with tracery blends. The polygonal oriel itself with tracery windows.
- Unschlittthaus*
Obere Wörthstr. 26
and Unschlittplatz 7a Built as granary 1490–91 by Hans Beheim the E.; after 1562 City Tallow Office (central depot of Unschlitt-tallow). Freestone construction with high saddleroof, numerous dustpan dormers; corbie gable on south front.
- Weinstadel*
Maxplatz 8 Built as isolation hostelry 1446–48, since 1528 wine depot. 48 m long, three-storeyed building with saddleroof. Freestone ground floor, two cantilevered half-timbered upper storeys, three half-timbered storeys in the gable. On the water front wooden galleries.
- Weissgerbergasse Good example of fairly well-preserved street of craftsmen's dwellings, either freestone or half-timbered, with oriels and dormers.
- Welserhaus*, formerly
Haus zur Goldenen Rose
Theresienstr. 7 Built for Jakob Welser probably by Hans Beheim the E., 1509–12. Badly damaged 1945. Inner courtyard, originally with stone galleries on three sides, reconstruction started 1961: south and west three arcades on three floors with slim columns and ornate tracery balustrades; on west wall three-sided, open staircase tower. The north side of 1550–60 with fountain and oriel decorated with coats of arms.
- Former Merchants house
Zur Lilie, rectory of
Our Lady, Winklerstr. 31 Typical, small inner courtyard with stonework on north and west sides, ab. 1519, galleries with tracery and flat stone ceiling above open staircase and arches. Higher up wooden galleries with tracery. Ornamental bartizan.
- Winklerstr. 37 Sandstone house with polygonal bartizan and wooden oriel.
- Zeughaus* (Arsenal)
Pfannenschmiedgasse 24 Front building of the large Arsenal by Hans Dietmar, 1588. Burnt out 1945, restored 1954–55. Freestone building, rusticated front flanked by two imposing half-circular towers.



Egidienplatz with Pellerhaus, engraving after Joh. Andreas Graff, 1682



Rathaus (Great Hall), engraving by Joh. Adam Delsenbach, early 18th century

Museums

- Albrecht-Dürer-Haus*
Albrecht-Dürer-Str. 39 House by Tiergärtnertor (Gate) where Dürer lived 1509–28. Restored at various times, most thoroughly 1970–71. Furnished rooms and kitchen; collection of mementos; copies of Dürer's works.
- Germanisches Nationalmuseum*
Kartäusergasse 1 Founded 1852 by Hans Freiherr (Baron) v. Aufsess; since 1856 housed in the former Carthusian monastery donated by the Nuremberg merchant M. Mendel. Large collections of material from all subjects of German history of art and culture from earliest times to 20th century: prehistory and early history, painting and painted glass, sculpture, arts and crafts, musical instruments, scientific instruments, textiles, arms, toys, folk art, costume; print room with ab. 200 000 etchings and engravings; numismatic section; collection of autographs; historical records; fine arts records. Library specialised in the history of German art and culture.
- Gewerbemuseum*
(Arts and Crafts)
Gewerbemuseumsplatz 2 Founded 1869, last re-organised 1969. Arts and crafts up to modern times: glass, china, pottery, metalwork, furniture, clocks and watches, jewellery.
- Kaiserburg*
(Imperial Castle) Buildings 11th to 16th century; restored 1834–35, 1934 and after war damage. Open to the public: Palace with Romanesque double chapel, Hall of the Emperor, Knights Hall, imperial private chambers; Sinwell tower (view).
- Kunsthalle* (Art Gallery)
Lorenzerstr. 32 Established 1913 as Franconian Gallery; renamed 1967; temporary exhibitions of contemporary art.
- Lochgefängnisse*
(Dungeons)
under old Town Hall,
Rathausplatz 2 Last restored 1955. 14th century remand prison of the Imperial City preserved in its original state with cells, torture chamber, smithy and warder's quarters.
- Museum*
Natur und Mensch
Gewerbemuseumsplatz 4 Established 1833: Prehistory and early history, geology, paleontology, spelaeology, anthropology; not all the material on view.
- Noricama*
Burg 2 (*Kaiserstallung*) Multivision show of Nuremberg's past and present, founded 1971 by Josef Svoboda.

- Toy Museum**
Karlstr. 13
Established 1966. Opened 1971 in patrician house with Renaissance front and Baroque oriel.
Toys from medieval to contemporary, mainly from Germany but also from Europe and overseas.
- Stadtmuseum*
(City Museum)
Fembohaus Burgstr. 15
Established 1953, museum of the Old Town; reorganised after renovation in 1970 of the *Fembohaus* (built 1591–96).
Nuremberg interiors, art and cultural life through the ages; print collection of ab. 60 000 items, mainly by artists of the city.
- Tucherschlosschen*
Hirschelgasse 11
In former gardens of the patrician Tucher family built 1533–44. Destroyed during the war, rebuilt 1970.
Example of the style of living of wealthy Nuremberg family: fine furniture and large collection of paintings, glass paintings, tapestries. *Tucherbuch* (all objects on loan by the Tucher family).
- Verkehrsmuseum*
(Transport Museum)
The only museum in Germany exclusively devoted to the development of post and railways.
Railway section: established 1899, rebuilt 1953. Models and originals showing the technological development of railways, motorways, inland navigation, air transport; reconstruction of “Adler”, the first locomotive to run in Germany and original coach of the former Bavarian Court, large model railway; demonstration of simulated run from the footplate.
Postal section: established 1902, reorganised 1955. Development of postal services, telegraph and telephone, radio and television. Stamp room with 40 000 stamps.

In Nuremberg as elsewhere musical life spread from the churches, not just from the two large parish churches (St. Sebaldus boasted an organ as early as the late thirteenth century) but also from the small churches with their choristers and, mainly, from the monasteries. The city itself disposed of the services of town pipers quite early, as can be seen from accounts of 1377 and of lutenists and fiddlers from the early 15th century on; then trumpeters and sackbut players, when Emperor Sigismund granted this privilege in 1531. They played at receptions held for important visitors, splendid banquets and processions of the Council and the Guilds, at weddings and funerals. Court musicians and bands accompanying emperors on their progress, strolling minstrels and players constantly brought new inspiration. The makers of musical instruments, whose reputation later spread abroad, seem to have had considerable achievements to their credit from early on. From ab. 1440 most of the organs were rebuilt and enlarged. Organ playing and the art of song reached a high point in the second half of the fifteenth century. Examples of this are the *Fundamentum Organisandi* of Konrad Paumann, a native of Nuremberg who was organist of St. Sebaldus until 1450 and the "Lochamer Songbook" of the same period, probably written in the city.

The Reformation, by abolishing saints' days and religious foundations at first restricted the scope of music in the churches: the *Salve Regina* which had been sung since the early fourteenth century disappeared. Though organ music was more or less in eclipse, Lazarus Spengler, Hans Sachs and Sebald Heyden composed hymns of lasting value. Private music-making, however, increased and musical circles were formed such as the *Musikalische Krenzleingesellschaft* in 1568 and the *Sodalicum Musicum* in 1571. Only through the appointment as choir masters of F. Lindner to St. Egidius in 1574 and of L. Lechner to St. Lawrence in 1575 did church music receive a new impetus. Lechner had been a pupil of Orlando di Lasso and introduced Nuremberg to the new trends in music at the princely courts of southern Germany. Music was no longer the revelation of the divine in sound but reflected the newly found self-confidence of Renaissance man.

Hans Leo Hassler, born in Nuremberg 1564, and already famous was appointed *Supreme Musicus* in 1601 and consolidated Nuremberg's fame

as a centre of singing. He blended tradition with new trends and techniques, and created a new entity out of German and Italian elements.

Parallel to the promotion of music by Church and patricians, mastersinging flourished, practised by craftsmen in their lay confraternities that later became singing schools. It practically reached professional standards, obeying the strict rules of the "Tabulatur": in the performance of music only the "tones" and thus the meter of the twelve mastersingers were permitted. A new tune was prohibited. The barber Hans Folz, ab. 1450—1515, first gained permission to compose new "tones" and this led to a flowering of mastersinging hitherto undreamt of. He and Hans Sachs were also distinguished performers. From then on only those who could produce a song new in content and melody that received the approval of the adjudicators could become mastersingers.

The printers of books had begun printing music before 1500; in fact the reputation of its music printers made 16th century Nuremberg one of the most esteemed publishing cities, on a par with Venice, Vienna and Mainz. This was matched by the high regard in which the instrument makers in the city were held in Europe.

The Thirty Years War was a long interruption in musical development. Nuremberg recovered, but only gradually, from purely functional, hide-bound 'musique de circonstance'.

The style of Nuremberg's religious music in the 17th and early 18th centuries owes its formal polish and expressiveness, as well as its lyrical qualities and popular fervour — which even affected Bach — to Johann Pachelbel (1653—1706), the "honourable and renowned organist of St. Sebaldus", who combined inventiveness and freshness of approach as composer with competent performance. The main influence on the development of secular music came from the *Pegnesischer Hirten- und Blumenorden* (the Pegnesian Order of Shepherds and Flowers) founded by G. Ph. Harsdörffer and J. Klaj in 1644; essentially for the cultivation of language and poetry, it also encompassed music in striving for comprehensiveness in art, a truly Baroque trait. In some respects, it also played a part in the development of German opera.

In 1675 the first performances of visiting opera companies took place in Nuremberg. The heyday of Nuremberg music, however, had passed with the death of Pachelbel. What remained was the afterglow of a glorious

tradition, continued only by the music publishers and instrument makers up to the end of the 18th century.

Opera performances and concerts, the beginnings of the collection of musical instruments in the German National Museum, the establishment of the Philharmonic Orchestra, the formation of numerous choirs, the Bavarian Music Festivals of 1900 and 1908, the Weeks of Song held in Nuremberg from 1927 onwards, to mention but a few events, have led to the intensive musical life of the present.

Nuremberg has its Bach Orchestra and its Symphony Orchestra, the choirs of St. Egidius, *Frauenkirche*, St. Lawrence's Bach Choir, St. Sebaldus' Kantorei, its Capella Sebaldina, and a further seven choirs.

Religious drama, in the form of the Mystery Plays — Passion and Easter Plays being the dominant dramatic form in medieval Germany — was not so important in Nuremberg. It was restricted by the Town Council at the end of the 15th century and, following the Reformation, abolished in 1523. The broad and realistic carnival plays, performed by journeymen inside taverns or in their yards, are of greater significance for the development of the theatre in Nuremberg. These "plays and rhymes" were censured by the Council in 1468 for being "usually voluptuous, lewd and unseemly in word and disorderly in gesture". This treatment of everyday life and ordinary people, market scenes and marital squabbles, adventures of infatuated lovers and peasant oafs underwent a process of refinement under the influence of the mastersingers. H. Rosenplüt, called the *Schneppe-rer*, the barber Hans Folz and chiefly Hans Sachs, "shoemaker and also poet", treated many subjects of carnival plays in a literary manner. Incidentally, most of the 150 carnival plays then popular in Germany and Switzerland were of Nuremberg origin. They were produced on a bare stage with a curtain backdrop in the secularised churches of St. Martha and St. Catherine. They aroused most interest in the second half of the 16th century, when as many as three groups were giving up to three performances a week each. To the annoyance of the Council many craftsmen neglected their trade, some of them left it for acting, giving also guest performances elsewhere.

While native theatrical companies were thus being formed, for until then all theatre was amateur, out-of-town troupes increasingly appeared. For instance, in 1549 French or Italian players performed "the ancient Roman history of Hercules", and from the early 17th century onwards English actors, who displayed manifold talents in their bloodthirsty plays, were great favourites of the people. In 1612 they gave "several fine comedies and tragedies heretofore unknown in Germany" at the Heilsbrunner Hof "in which they played sweet music and also performed various outlandish dances with wondrous twists, hops, skips and jumps, both backwards and forwards with much flinging about and other strange gestures that were diverting to see. Hence a great concourse of old and young, of men and women, as also of Councillors and learned gentlemen".

Perhaps because the *Heilsbronner Hof*, situated at the back of St. Lawrence's and, like the inn *Zum Goldenen Stern*, mainly used for theatrical performances, proved too small for this "great concourse" or that the Council considered it necessary for other reasons, a special building on Schütt Island was started in 1628 for "fencing schools, comedies and other entertainment". Although the Fencing House chiefly served the favourite pastime of animal baiting, and the demonstrations of the "fencing schools", it also provided Nuremberg with its first round theatre, whose three open tiers on a stone base held 3000 spectators.

In 1667-68 the Council built the *Nachtkomödienhaus* (Night Comedy Theatre), where performances could take place at night and in winter and which was used chiefly for operas performed by travelling companies.

Like everything else in this city deep in debt in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the theatre too was at a low ebb. The opera, the old *Nachtkomödienhaus*, which had long been in a bad state of repair, was therefore closed at the end of the 17th century, and the *Fechthaus* pulled down in 1811. And even the building that Auernheimer, the enterprising proprietor of the *Reichsadler*, built in 1801, which also served for concerts and fancy-dress balls, and where such actors as Iffland and Devrient had given guest performances, had to close down in 1827.

As to the wooden *Interimstheater* on Schütt Island, it had never been intended as a permanent structure.

Not until 1833 did Johannes Scharrer, then Burgomaster, defying all opposition, succeed in opening a new theatre on the Lorenzer Platz, which under the management of Hans Reck, gave numerous Wagner operas. Conditions for the production of opera were considerably better in the *Stadttheater am Ring*, now the Opera, built under Heinrich Seeling in 1905. Under Richard Balder new works were now frequently performed, e. g. *Rosenkavalier* on the day after its premiere in Dresden in 1911.

Customs and Holidays

Right through the Middle Ages Nuremberg thoroughly enjoyed celebrations. Its customs were all its own, including those of religious origin that were abolished at the Reformation. For instance the preacher Osiander wrote ab. 1526: "The make-believe with our Lord and the donkey on Palm Sunday, the Passion Play on Good Friday are not being given anymore. The tomb in the churches, the deriding of Christ and the Resurrection are no longer performed . . . Similarly the whole history of the holy days that was invented in connection with them has been completely dropped." The Council too did not look kindly on boisterous popular exuberance, which it tried time and again to curb by ordinances guarding morals and decorum. Only the very popular shooting competitions and marksmen's meeting, which might benefit the City in case of war, were encouraged to some extent. Accounts of these appear as early as the first half of the 15th century, and in the next two centuries in particular they became splendid occasions. Artisans in "dainty" dress took part in the pageants at these events, and people were invited to attend from near and far.

Parish fairs, where a lot of eating and drinking went on, in particular the *Kerwa* of St. John's and the *Kerwa* of the Church of the Holy Ghost on Schütt island, were equally popular, and have remained so to the present day. Right into the 19th century the *blouti Moh* (Bloody Man), a coppersmith covered in red paint, was driven in triumph to the venue while trying to smear people with "blood".

Three other traditions were kept up to the 18th century: the *Pfeffern* (peppering) on Boxing Day when children went about hitting the grown-ups on the clothes and were given coins or something to eat; the noisy *Klöpfeln* (knocking) on "Knockers Night", when boys and girls armed with flails and hammers beat on front doors and shutters; and last but not least the *Urbanreiten* (Ride of St. Urban) on 25th May, a procession on



Fishermen's Stick-Fighting, engraving middle of 17th century



Schembart Runner in 1516, Nuremberg Schembart Book,
middle of 16th century



Two Schembart Runners, Nuremberg Schembart Book,
middle of 16th century

horseback of the wine merchants. A 'wine cryer', embodying a cross between Dionysos and St. Urban, dressed in motley and wearing a crown rode to the taverns of the town. He was accompanied by wine unloaders and cellarmen in red cloaks — called "tavern coats", by a band and a man carrying a small spruce tree hung with glasses and mirrors. These decorations were distributed to the children as the cortège, getting ever merrier, collected wine and money. When night came, all this provided a great feast in honour of St. Urban, so that he should see to a rich grape harvest.

There is proof that the artisans' dances go back a very long way indeed. One such dance, in which the dancers insisted on wearing silk and velvet like their betters, was a privilege requested by the butchers and the cutlers of Charles IV in return for their proven loyalty to the Council during the insurrection of 1348. This was granted and in 1350 for the first time the butchers performed the *Zämertanz* holding on to leather sausage rings, while the cutlers danced with bare swords and, like the butchers, proceeded through the whole town with a band of pipers.

This dancing display, granted to the butchers, eventually merged with the carnival pageant, the *Schembartlauf* at which the masks worn (*Schemen*) remained the same but the uniform costumes changed every year. When, on account of the great expense involved in these pageants the privilege passed to the patricians, the *Schembartlauf* grew even more extravagant and splendid, as can be clearly seen from the 77 *Schembartbooks* preserved. They describe in word and picture each of the shows. From the end of the 15th century onwards a sort of stage on wheels with ever changing spectacle was added to the pageant. It went by the name of Hell and had to be taken by storm and destroyed at the end. In 1539 that zealous and unloved preacher Osiander felt personally so ridiculed and provoked by the Hell of that year, a ship manned by devils with an Evangelical preacher in the middle, that he successfully appealed to the Council, who did not like the *Schembart* pageants anyway, to put a stop to them for good and all. The butchers then proceeded to hold a procession with an enormous sausage on Shrove Tuesday or Ash Wednesday in addition to their dances. In 1591 the sausage was 60 yards long, but it grew and grew until 1658, when 12 men were needed to carry the pole on which was Nuremberg's largest sausage ever: hanging in rings, it was 638 yards long and weighed 514 lbs.

As with the butchers and the cutlers, other trades had their own processions in later years: thus the shoemakers in white bathrobes and bath hats marched from their guild's tavern to the Zacharias Baths at Easter time; the coopers performed a dance with hoops; the clothmakers, ranking highest among the guilds, wore Spanish dress for their processions; the armourers fought each other with poles sitting on high stools on wheels, rather like the fishermen, who, on the occasion of 'Fisher Sticking', endeavoured to throw each other into the Pegnitz with long poles; the joiners, clothed in garments of woodshavings, carried finely carved wooden arms; and the coppersmiths, who alone had the right to work by artificial light, carried "the little light into the water" in solemn procession on the day of the equinox drowning burning candles in the Pegnitz to signify that from that day on they, like the other guilds, would stop work at sundown.

Apart from the various seasonal fairs, some of which were coupled with parish fairs, a Christmas Fair, held on the Hauptmarkt was started in the 17th century — it is mentioned for the first time in 1639 — and the popular St. Thomas's Day fell during that time. This *Christkindlesmarkt* (Market of the Holy Child*) with its glowing lights, its booths, its smells of grilled sausages, gingerbread and burnt almonds, together with the church fairs, is about the only Nuremberg custom that has survived to the present day without any notable interruption. It is also its most attractive tradition.

* The true meaning and overtones of that word are lost on the foreigner who has not, as a child, waited with expectation for the "Christ Child" to bring his Christmas presents and put them under the Christmas tree.

- Altstadtfest**
(Feast of the Old Town) In September, date variable.
Fischerstechen on the Pegnitz between Museum Bridge and Fleisch Bridge; display of folk dancing and choirs. Plays by Hans Sachs. Fireworks display on the Pegnitz; medieval jousts on horseback.
- Christkindlesmarkt** From early December to 24th December.
On the Hauptmarkt, stalls and booths round the crib, full of atmosphere, solemn opening by the Christkind. On sale: Christmas tree decorations, toys, arts and crafts, gingerbread, "fruitbread", sweets and "prunemen", and grilled sausages.
- Handwerkerhof**
"Alt Nürnberg"
(Court of crafts,
Old Nuremberg) Held from early April to 23rd December in the crafts alleys of the *Waffenhof* (weapon court) at the Königstor, where traditional Nuremberg craftsmen may be seen at work, and their products bought. Small eating places serving traditional dishes.
- Lichterzug**
(Procession of lights) On the night of the second Thursday in December a procession to the Castle of children carrying lanterns, where there are tableaux of the Christmas story (started 1948).
- Trempelmarkt**
(Flea Market) On the first Saturday in May, July and September.
Flea market on the Hauptmarkt and around the Rathaus including nearby streets, where anyone can sell and buy anything (started July 1971).
- Volksfest**
(People's Festival) Spring and autumn.
In the grounds of the Congress Hall: festivity celebrating the birthday of King Ludwig I since 25th August 1826. Fair, fun fair, show booths, beer marquees and firework display.

Nuremberg Specialities: Local Dishes and Goodies

Eating and drinking are part and parcel of celebrations, and if you sample favourite dishes you learn something about the character of a region or town.

Both food and drink in Nuremberg are fairly substantial and nourishing. Nurembergers are not spoilt gourmets, but they know what they like. They are good trenchermen, enjoying dumplings and roast pork, oxmuzzle salad and *Nürnberger Gwerch*, "town sausage with music", and their tasty light ale. Dishes include not only *Paiterla* and *Schwemmkniedla* (parsley with dumplings made of ground rice) which dish has earned Nurembergers the nickname of *Paiterlesboum*, but also roast goose cooked with plenty of mugwort, and carp from the Aischgrund. But nowadays it is usually served au bleu or baked, whereas "the well-instructed Nuremberg cook" in 1752 distinguished another 23 ways of preparing it, such as "scraped carp", "carp au court bouillon", in sweet black stock, in morello stock.

Nuremberg would be unthinkable without its crisp pretzels, sold from large baskets at street corners, its "special flavour" — grilled sausages eaten off burnished pewter plates in special kitchens, but part and parcel of everyday life in the city as well as of every fair and market, and its world-famous *Lebkuchen* (gingerbread) whose irresistible smell ushers in the Christmas season.

Lebkuchen

The flourishing beekeeping trade which made the Imperial Forest of Nuremberg the "beegarden of Germany" furnished honey as one of the essential ingredients of honeycake, whereas the various spices came through the trade with Venice. True to Nuremberg form there was early specialisation among the bakers. At the end of the 14th century *lebkuchner* appears on the list of Treasury accounts. For Mastersinger Hans Folz it

obviously belonged to Nuremberg life: "Gingerbread, electary and sweet-meats, and whatever else is hidden away in chests", and had long been considered a quality product. Among the gifts that Nuremberg presented to the City of Brussels for the exemption of customs duty, gingerbread is mentioned as well as swords and gloves up to 1790. Everyone was agreed that "the best gingerbread comes from Nuremberg", wrote G. K. Schurtz in 1673. "They have never been able to imitate it elsewhere, however hard they tried", J. Ch. Wagenseil, 1697, and so "the little gingerbread of Nuremberg were exported not only to all parts of the Roman Empire, but also to other provinces", M. Filzhofer, 1719. And this applies even more today. The designation *Nürnberger Lebkuchen* has been protected as a mark of origin since 1927. *Nürnberger Lebkuchen* really do come from Nuremberg, whether plain brown or white, or those on wafers containing practically no flour, among which the top quality *Elisenlebkuchen*, consisting of practically nothing but nuts, almonds and spices. They are still made according to traditional recipes, though no longer in small home bakeries but industrially with such aids as the conveyor belt.

Another very old tradition is that of the *Zuckerstückla* (sugar bits), also called *Eierzucker* (egg sugar), marzipan and aniseed biscuits, a kind of Christmas sweet meats, that are pressed out of artistically carved moulds in the most diverse shapes, particular favourites being the moulded and painted horsemen.

Eierzucker under a variety of names is baked all over Southern Germany, but the *prunemen*, rows and rows of which fill whole stalls at the Christmas market, are a purely Nuremberg speciality: a true *pruneman* is, of course, made of prunes with a walnut head and is dressed in clothes made of remnants. Each is different but they are all amusing.

Not only the Christmas sweets of Nuremberg are world famous. The savoury specialities are nearly as well known, and you can eat genuine ones only in the town.

Bratwürste

These come in two sizes: the usual ones, obtainable from every butcher, which are fried, eaten sour, as *Blaue Zipfel* (blue tips) or *Nackerte* ("starkers"). Then there are the "genuine ones", about the length of a

finger weighing 23 gr., made of pork and spices, that must be grilled on charcoal made from beechwood. The special kitchens serving these, and there are more than half a dozen of these, go back to the 14th century. There they are served with cabbage or horseradish on pewter plates; if 10, the plate is heartshaped; otherwise, regardless of the number, round. Like the *Bratwürste* which old Nurembergers think of as a snack rather than a meal, two other specialties, *Stadtwurst* (town sausage) and ox muzzle salad usually figure among the cold dishes on the menu of the restaurants and they too are considered snacks, rarely eaten as a main dish. The *Stadtwurst* too consists of pure pork, spiced with pepper and salt, nutmeg and marjoram, but this mixture is stuffed into 3 cm thick pigsgut. There is the white kind and the red slightly smoked variety, but both must be homemade. It is served in pieces of about a quarter of a lb., either cold with mustard or hot with *Sauerkraut*.

Ox-Muzzle Salad

This is always eaten cold. It is made of boiled pickled ox-muzzle and it has been produced industrially since the last century. Two main dishes, on the other hand, are *Paiteila* and *Schwemmkniedla* (parsley with dumplings made of ground rice), originally a Sunday dinner, and carp, served either blue or baked, mainly served in traditional fish kitchens. With these hearty dishes all Nuremberg drinks

Beer

mostly light, with not too much hops. As was regretfully noted in 1219, it has never been possible to grow vines in the surroundings of the city, whereas hops flourish. So beer is a very old tradition. There was a hop market about 1330, and it is mentioned that beer could be brewed only of water, hops and barley, the first reference in fact, to the Bavarian Standard of Purity regulation. The earliest pictorial representation of a German brewer is to be found in a Nuremberg manuscript, the Chronicle of the Mendelian Foundation of the 12 Brethren around 1397.

Top fermented red beer was produced first of all, but after 1530 also wheat beer, with less hops, to start with in private households, but soon pro-

fessionally in separate licensed breweries. Both production and sale were strictly controlled by the City Council's various specialized officials. The Council itself also brewed beer, and when the Bavarian type of wheat beer became popular the city assumed the manufacturing monopoly and built its own wheat beer brewery. In 1787 it was said about this beer that it was "pleasant to drink on account of its sweetness".

The union of the Free Imperial City and Bavaria led to a complete transformation. New breweries were founded. Since the last war large-scale enterprises with an annual output of 1 million hectolitres have come into being.

Change has perforce also come to the city's inns, though a few of the traditional *Garküchen* (eating houses) still exist, as well as some of the typical small taverns where people "sit together in small circles after the labours of the day chatting away a couple of hours". These were and some still are called by such endearing, ludicrous names as *Zum Gläsernen Himmel* (The Glass Heaven), *zum Störchlein's Keller* (Storklets Cellar), the "Vale of Tears", "Jacob's Ladder", the "Pail of Lard", the "Pickled Roast", the „Mousetrap", the "Bare Belly", the "Moonshine", the "Bearkeeper", the "Man in Armour", the "Sea of Planks", the "Wild Sow". But once famous and favourite eating houses and taverns such as the *Bockelmüllerei*, at the corner of Rathausplatz, the *Goldne Gans* (golden goose), stage of the Imperial Mail coach, the tiny *Bratwurstglöcklein* (grilled sausage bell) built onto the *Moritzkapelle* in the 14th century, the 300 year old Rackl fish parlour, to name but a few, exist no more. There are still a few restaurants with a long tradition, a piece of old Nuremberg, unchanged, though partly rebuilt.

Zum Bärleinhuter Hutergasse 1
(Bearkeeper) Known 1551 as *Berleinhuter*, 1580 as *Barlehutter*, since 1807 *Bärleinhuter*.

Zur Baumwolle Adlerstrasse 18
(cotton) On the site of the former Cotton Exchange; mentioned as early as the 16th century.

Böhm's Herrenkeller Theatergasse
(Böhm's Tavern) Tavern and restaurant, the former going back to 16th century. Hans Sachs praised it in song and referred to it as a gentlemen's tavern; restored after war damage.

- Bratwurstherzle* Brunnengasse 11
(Grilled Sausage Heart) Eating house at Herzgasse 11 since 1526, called *Bratwurstherzle* 1896. Destroyed 1945 and rebuilt at Brunnengasse; traditional grilled sausage eating house.
- Bratwurströslein* Obstmarkt 1
(Grilled Sausage Rose) First mentioned as eating house in 16th century, rebuilt after 1945. Traditional grilled sausage eating house.
- Essigbrätlein* Weinmarkt 3
(Pickled Roast) Since 1550; wine tavern known as *Das Vässla an dem engen Gässla* (the trickle on the narrow alley) since 1596, and as *Essigbrätlein* since 1746.
- Goldener Geier* Geiersberg 11
(Golden Vulture) Since 1632 *Zum Geier*, 1760 *Gulden Geyerlein*.
- Goldenes Posthorn* Close to St. Sebaldus Church
Since 1498, one of Germany's oldest wine lodges, nowadays leading restaurant for special dishes.
- Luftsprung* Unterer Bergauerplatz 10
(The Gambol) Since 1516, rebuilt after bombing; traditional fish restaurant.
- Zur Schranke* Bergstrasse 31
(The Toll Gate) First mentioned 1523; then as "The Tavern at the Tiergärtnerort" in 1632, and as *Schranken*, 1691.
- Walfisch* Jakobstrasse 19
(The Whale) Mentioned as tavern 1609; then 1632 called *Zum Rebstock am Weissen Turm* (the Vine by the White Tower); since 1746 The Whale; destroyed 1945; rebuilt.
- Weisses Schwänlein* Bergstrasse 30
(The White Cygnet) 1648 called "The White Swan" at the Tiergärtnerort; since 1746 "White Cygnet".
- Wunder* Ottostrasse 23
(The Miracle) 16th century wine lodge.

There are also some restaurants in historical buildings:

- Heiliggeistspital* Restaurant and tavern, since 1953 situated in the 14th century foundation on the Sude.
- Mautkeller* Restaurant and beer cellar in the *Mauthalle*, built ab. 1500.
- Nassauerkeller* Wine lodge and specialties restaurant on the groundfloor of the 13th century Nassauerhaus.
- Ratsstuben* Restaurant in Beheim's Aldermen's Chambers, built 1514–15.

Colour photographs with accompanying text

The view across the moats of the *Spittlertor* and New Gate to the Castle shows better than any other how successful the Nurembergers have been in restoring to the Old Town the aspect it had acquired over the centuries. 90 per cent had been left in ruins in 1945.

As in former times the houses rise with their steep gables, clustering round the Castle, the old town lying as it has for centuries within its walls and moats. It is this ring of fortifications which, despite a few inroads of the 19th century, still remains one of the strongest and best preserved of large cities in Europe, and has been the decisive factor giving Nuremberg such an unusually homogeneous aspect. The walls, built to defend the citizens, gradually became the symbol of the power and prestige of the Free Imperial City.

The existing wall, ab. 5 km long, built 1346–1452 and strengthened in the 16th and 17th centuries, consists of a seven to eight meter high, 1 m thick wall, with roofed sentry walk, ab. 100 towers, the 15 m wide keep and the dry moat, 20 m wide and up to 12 m deep. Apart from the *Vestnertor*, which is part of the Castle fortifications, there are the five main gates: Laufer, Frauen, Spittler, Neu and Tiergärtner, the latter with its tall slim tower going back to the penultimate defences of the 13th century. Fazuni's grand bastions of 1538–45 were part of the polygonal castle fortifications, a sensation in their time, "the bastion behind the citadel". The mighty round towers of the four main gates were built 1556–59 on the plans of Georg Unger, the City Superintendent of Works, by encasing the old square towers in 6 m thick walls. Their functional well-balanced ponderousness is a typical expression of the City of Nuremberg.

As in former times
the houses rise
with their steep
gables, clustering
round the Castle





Nürnberger Bratwürste

KAUFHOF
NÜRNBERG

Hallplatz

KAUFHOF
NÜRNBERG

Königstrasse which runs from the Central Station across Lorenzplatz to Museumsbrücke (bridge) is one of the main streets of the Old Town but, whereas the other streets of the Lorenz sector run from east to west, it runs from north to south, probably over an old road leading to the Pegnitz. Like elsewhere within the city walls, the old and the new blend well; whether you are shopping, strolling or tasting grilled sausages, you are always looking at some medieval typically Nuremberg building, the Church of St. Lawrence, the *Frauentorturm*, the *Mauthalle*.

Though it became the customs house (*Maut*) of the Imperial City as late as 1572, the splendid sandstone building with cross-vaulted cellar and 5 storey saddle-roof had been erected by Hans Beheim the E. between 1489 and 1520 as city granary. It was one of eleven such buildings of great size, measuring 85 x 20 x 30 m, which, like the *Peststadel* in the Tetzeltgasse, the *Unschlitthaus* and the Imperial Stables, were built in the 15th century, partly to ensure greater independence in wartime, but mainly to counter recurring bad harvests.

The Council, who prohibited all intermediary trade and subjected the bakers' purchase of corn to control as strict as its milling and its finished products, also bought up corn when conditions were favourable. This was so carefully stored as to keep for extremely long periods. Charles V when visiting these granaries in 1541 is supposed to have been presented with corn in usable condition that was 180 years old. We know that in the 15th and 16th centuries the Council did more than sell corn cheaply to the bakers in times of crisis in order to stabilize prices: it often had bread baked at its own expense, selling it without profit to the people. At times more than 10 000 loaves of 4½ lbs a day were sold, as in 1482 when the total was 320 000 4½ lbs loaves, or 1540–41 when the number rose to 460 000, without the stores being depleted. Nuremberg granaries seem indeed to have been inexhaustible.

The Königstrasse
with *Mauthalle*,
one of the former
vast granaries,
and the towers
of St. Lawrence

"1439 on Simon Judas Day the choir was begun and was completed after 1477 on Easter Eve", may be read on the west wall of the side aisle of the south choir of St. Lawrence. Just as in St. Sebaldus 75 years earlier, it was to replace the choir of this other large church, which had been built as a Classic Gothic basilica between the end of the 13th century and in the 14th. It was a striking expression of the increasing wealth of the town and its citizens, who practically financed the construction by themselves through voluntary contributions.

The basic plan of the new choir which is as wide as the nave and nearly as long, was by Konrad Heinzelmänn of Rothenburg, but Konrad Roritzer, the architect of Regensburg Cathedral, who took over after Heinzelmänn's death, set his own stamp on the structure. He modified the former design, which is reminiscent of the cruciform church at Schwäbisch Gmünd, by giving it a sense of spaciousness. Though he kept the three aisles of the main structure, these now became of equal height, and the piers rising weightlessly no longer divide; the space is a unity flooded by light. The feeling of two levels, emphasized by the gallery, makes a transition to the nave, but also points to the future, the incipient Renaissance.

The ribs system of the breathtaking star vault by Jacob Grimm (1466—77) completes this most splendid of German Late Gothic aisled halls, whose sculptural decorations, Adam Krafft's tabernacle and Veit Stoss's Annunciation are equally outstanding.

The aisled choir of St. Lawrence is among the greatest German Late Gothic creations both in its architecture and decoration





Among the many art treasures of St. Lawrence, two sculptures occupy a special position, being both donations of Nuremberg Patricians and works of European importance by two late Gothic masters of the city — the Annunciation by Veit Stoss and the tabernacle by Adam Krafft.

In 1517 Anton Tucher donated a chandelier for 55 candles as well as an Annunciation completed by Veit Stoss in 15 months. This, the most popular work of art in Nuremberg, hangs in a wreath of roses and medallions with the Seven Joys of Mary. Its sculptural and even painterly qualities make it the crowning glory of the wide choir hall of St. Lawrence, for which Hans Imhoff the E. had had the tabernacle made 25 years earlier.

Adam Krafft, who, in contrast to the somewhat older Veit Stoss, never left Nuremberg when a master, had carved the Schreyer monument in St. Sebaldus. Between 1493 and 1495 he created one of the wonders of Late Gothic stone work, carving the most famous of all tabernacles. The stone work shoots up, weightless in a wealth of tracery, pillars and groups of figures to a height of nearly 20 m towards the vault, borne by the figures of the artist and his assistants. Mathematically sound construction, and the monumental realism typical of Krafft, which found its fullest expression in his late work, the Stations to the Cross along the way to the chapel of St. John, here blend with an imaginative love of detail. The supporting figures, especially the artist's self-portrait, surprise us time and again by their functional clarity and sculptural realism. They express most strikingly the spirit of the artist-craftsman of the period of transition around 1500, embodying both the reverential devotion of the medieval craftsman to his work and the self-confident independence of the artist of Early Renaissance.

Self portrait
of Adam Krafft
from the Tabernacle
of St. Lawrence

When you consider the other fountains of Nuremberg, the *Hanselbrunnen* of the *Heilig-Geist-Spital*, the *Puttenbrunnen* in the Town Hall court, the *Gänsemännchen* or Peter Flötner's Apollo, all bronzes of an intimate character, the *Tugendbrunnen* occupies a special place. Following the trend of the times in its partiality for symbols and allegories, Benedikt Wurzelbauer created a three-tiered bronze structure with Justice and the crane, symbol of vigilance at the apex. No longer is the flow of water restricted to a few outlets; it runs freely from spouts on the base and flows from the breasts of Faith, Hope, Charity, Fortitude, Patience and Moderation on the lower pedestal, and from the trumpets of the boys holding the Nuremberg coat of arms of the tier above.

This Manneristic work was no longer kept tucked away in a courtyard but placed in the open space between *Lorenzkirche* and *Nassauerhaus*. Originally the home of a royal minister, a five storey Gothic tower with pyramidal roof, it was altered in the 15th century by the addition of an ornate balustrade and polygonal bartizans on the top floor and one of the city's loveliest oriels on the east wall.

As the first large bronze fountain of Nuremberg — for whose requirements a special water tower was erected next to the "Blue Star" — the *Tugendbrunnen* from the last stage of the Renaissance has become a representative showpiece, a symbol of the city's greatness displayed at a point of vantage.

The *Tugendbrunnen*
in front of the east
side of *Nassauerhaus*
wrought by
Benedikt Wurzelbauer
1584—94





Breite Gasse,
for pedestrians only,
ends to the west at
the *Weisse Turm*
(so-called White
Tower), part
of the 13th century
fortifications

Like every other large town, Nuremberg has to strive to remain attractive, to keep or recreate open spaces for its inhabitants.

In the suburbs physical exercise is encouraged by several baths and sports grounds. The *Stadtpark*, the parks of *Marienberg* and *Dutzendteich*, the new *Wöhrdersee* and the charmingly situated Zoo provide opportunities for relaxation within the territory of the city.

The inner town, encircled unlike most other cities by its green moat and ramparts has pedestrian precincts that are ideal for shoppers and shopkeepers alike, for despite war damage Nuremberg still has a centre with a character all of its own, making it a city to the scale of man. This is due to its development through the ages, and to its building materials. To recover this quality should be the real aim of every pedestrian zone.

Henkerturm (hangmans tower) which bridges the northern branch of the Pegnitz on two arches, and the water tower on its northern bank, a mighty bossed freestone structure with two cantilevered upper storeys and hipped roof are part of the connection made 1320—25 between the previously separate walls round Lawrence Town and Sebaldus Town. It brought both inflow and outlet of the Pegnitz within a single wall enclosing the whole city for the first time.

The *Weinstadel* (wine store), a long three-storey structure with deep saddle roof, stone ground floor, cantilevered half-timbered upper storeys, and wooden galleries on the river, was only built 1446—48. This, the oldest secular building of Nuremberg, was not however erected as a store but as an isolation hostelry for lepers.

An "Isolation Foundation" had been created in 1394 to provide the "sick beyond the pale", the lepers who languished in the Kobel (isolation infirmaries) of the city and those of the countryside, with food and drink, clothing, Holy Mass, Confession and Communion services, and medical advice on 3 days in Holy week. The growing numbers of the lepers who flocked in, well over 2000, created a great accommodation problem even after weeding out "the beautiful" — the malingerers. So in 1446 the erection of a special hostelry was started so that "these unfortunates might have shelter for those 3 days and nights". The rest of the year this 48 m long, vast building stood empty with rare exceptions, up to the 16th century, when the Council transferred the whole institution to St. John's and the town turned over the building that now served no purpose to storing wine that had not been sold at the wine fair or whose excise had not yet been paid.

*Wasserturm and
Weinstadel*
though dissimilar
architecturally
and belonging
to different periods
make one of the
most characteristic
pictures
of Nuremberg





Schlayerturm and
Kettensteg, the first
suspension bridge
to span a river
in Germany.
Below, a popular
open-air pub

Of all Nuremberg bridges the *Kettensteg* (chain foot-bridge) occupies a special place, being the first suspension bridge in Germany spanning a river. It is the last bridge downstream within the city walls parallel to the strengthened sentry wall by the mighty *Schlayerturm* of 1449 and the *Fronveste* of 1494–95, to cross both branches of the Pegnitz as it leaves the town. Since the 15th century or earlier at this point there had been a covered footbridge which was properly maintained until the 19th century. In its place the Nuremberg mechanic Johann Georg Kuppler erected this bridge suspended by chains in 6 months in 1824. For a long time it was considered with awe as a technical feat, but also thought rather hazardous. In 1930 the footbridge was fundamentally changed by the insertion of 4 massive supports, but even the reconstruction after 1945 has not restored this once technically interesting structure to its original aspect.

In contrast to public libraries — Nuremberg has one of the oldest city libraries of Germany started 1429 — collecting both scientific and artistic objects was confined to private initiative for many centuries. Collections were considered a symbol of privilege and status of the rich, and, like the German princes, individual Nuremberg patricians, such as P. Praun and the Imhoffs, began to set up these “chambers of art and wonders”, which later travellers expatiated on. Foremost among them was C. G. Murr with his “Depiction of the Outstanding Curiosities of the Free City of Nuremberg in the H. R. Empire”, published in 1778.

It was due to H. v. Aufsess who found Nuremberg the embodiment of medieval culture and considered it a suitable setting for the *Germanische Nationalmuseum* (Germanic National Museum) he established in 1852. Only then did Nuremberg acquire its first museum supported by public funds. The most recent of these is the Toy Museum, opened in 1971. Whereas the former, in accordance with the intentions of the founder, presents all aspects of German art and culture, thus being the greatest museum of its kind in Germany, the latter serves one purpose only, closely connected with the city — toys.

Nuremberg which organises the International Toy Fair every year has remained the centre of the German toy trade and production since the 15th century, referred to in a Magdeburg chronicle of 1414 as “baubles from Nurenberch”. There were clay figures in the 14th century, wooden and rag dolls in the 17th century, tin figures, picture sheets, and in the 19th century the increasingly popular tin toys of every kind.

This 17th century
house of a wealthy
citizen in
Karlstrasse, built
by J. Wolff the E.,
houses the
Toy Museum,
built round the
Lydia Bayer
collection, since 1971





Weissgerbergasse is a typical street of the Old Town, where craftsmen used to live.

Like the Vordere and Hintere Ledergasse of the Lawrence sector, close to the lower Fischbach (fishbrook), Irrerstrasse and Weissgerbergasse near the outflow of the Pegnitz on the Sebaldus side were the preserve of the tanners and tawers whose pungent trades required much running water, first for the soaking of the hides to remove all traces of flesh and hair in vats containing a solution of lime and ash, then for the bating and the many washings at various stages. Whereas the tanners worked on the Fischbach with oak and spruce bark mainly to produce strong leather for soles, the Sebaldus tawers, whose vats still lined the Pegnitz front from the *Nägeleinsmühle* to the City Wall in 1720 and who used alum, made more supple and softer leather. The wares of both were sold at good prices. "Stinking hides make rich people", Nurembergers used to say.

The relative prosperity of the trade can be seen from the houses in Weissgerbergasse with half timbering only for the upper storeys, which fact points to their being built after 1600. Yet the curve of this street and the variety of the façades (excepting the new houses nos. 12 and 14), despite the observance of medieval building regulations, make us realize the inner harmony of the architecture of those times, the feeling of security and protection it gave by creating the sense of an indoor space between the houses, a thing that made medieval towns so human.

Weissgerbergasse
is a typical example
of the variety
of buildings in the
Old Town streets

From the 15th century onwards wealthy Nuremberg families acquired more and more land on the outskirts of the town. The country houses, mostly of the 16th century, were fortified places that in time of war were placed at the disposal of the Council. Surrounded by walls and water-filled moats these towerlike sandstone structures with their steep saddle-roofs are typical country seats that the Nuremberg gentry used as summer residences.

For a long time the Council tried to keep the closest surroundings of the city, the ground necessary for defence outside the walls, clear of all building. There is proof of the existence of gardens back to the 14th century, and in the 16th the use of the "garden and summer house for delectation only" was one of the joys of the inhabitants of the close-built city.

Only in the 17th century did the art of gardening develop fully. Its literary and artistic monument is J. C. Volckamer's beautifully illustrated work "Nuremberg Hesperides or the Complete Description of the Fruits of Bergamot, Lemon, and Bitter Orange" In those days the cultivation of exotic plants, "to start them suitably, grow them successfully, get them through the winter properly and propagate them effectively", as Volckamer writes, were as much part of Nuremberg horticulture as the laying out in patterns, the placing of stone figures according to "a programme", and "the living waters of the fountains". The wings of the U-shaped main building on the front served as conservatory for oranges, lemons and sevilles, for figtrees and pomegranates, and as quarters for the gardener. In this essentially Gothic city the gardens were the domain of the Baroque and Rococo.

Though no longer
in its original state
the garden of
Johannisstrasse 13
conveys the charm
of Nuremberg
Baroque gardens





It is said that the owner of the *Pilatushaus* at *Tiergärtnertor* went twice to the Holy land to measure the distances between the Stations of the Cross. The Seven Stations of the Cross by A. Krafft—originals in the *Germanische Nationalmuseum* — were then placed at such intervals, starting from a garden beyond *Tiergärtnertor* out to *Johannesfriedhof*. This churchyard of historic importance both artistic and cultural came about by amalgamating two medieval cemeteries, that of the Kobel (infirmery) of St. John's, first mentioned 1234 and the Plague Cemetery, consecrated in 1395. It is filled with sandstone sarcophagi which are found elsewhere only in the churchyard of St. Rochus and a few other small ones just outside the city.

Originally the cemeteries lay in the middle of the town round the principal churches of St. Sebaldus and St. Lawrence and occasional burials took place inside the churches. However, during the plague of 1505 the Council first prohibited all burials within the city walls, at first only in "times of great dying", but in 1518 forever. The churchyard of St. John's became the burial ground of the Sebaldus parish, growing ever more until the 19th century.

The aspect presented by this unusual cemetery was determined by the Council's ordinance of 1522 regulating the size and shape of the sarcophagi with their bronze plaques, inscriptions, coats of arms and figures, which bear witness to the great skill of the Nuremberg bronze casters, right up to the 19th century. Only one monument, that of the Münzers of 1560, 7½ m high, the richly decorated church itself and the Holzschuher Chapel with Krafft's Deposition (1507–08) rise above the expanse of graves and scarlet pelargonias where many of Nuremberg's greatest sons are buried.

The sandstone sarcophagi with their bronze plaques make the *Johannisfriedhof* (St. John's churchyard) one of the most unusual and impressive cemeteries of Germany

On 14 June 1509, 15 years after establishing himself as a painter and marrying, Dürer acquired the "corner dwelling and court in Nuremberg near *Tiergärtnertor*, the front facing the rising of the sun" for the sum of 275 florins, as stated in the contract. The handsome premises with two-storey stone base, 2 half-timbered floors and half-hipped roof in their present, much-restored state, do not look entirely as it did then. The inside in particular, the kitchen excepted, has been much altered. However, it is still the house in which Dürer and his wife Agnes lived until his death. It witnessed his friendships and the exchange of ideas with many great minds of his town and his time; in it many of his most famous works were executed, among them the "small Passion" woodcut series, the "Passion" etchings, "Knight, Death and the Devil", "Melancholia I", and "St. Jerome in his Study", the prayerbook of Maximilian, the charcoal drawing of his aged mother, and the "Four Apostles", which he presented to the Council "so that the sight of these manly figures might serve as admonition and support to temporal rulers in these troubled times".

Round the *Dürerhaus* a medieval group of buildings has also been preserved: towering above it, the mighty Neutorturm to the south, the tower of the *Tiergärtnertor* to the west and, to the north, the Castle with its steep roofs, and the half-timbered houses round the square, which, since the havoc of the last war, are the only ones of their kind.

From the Castle
Palace across
the *Dürerhaus*,
an unbroken view
of medieval
Nuremberg





Not only the south view from the Castle to the *Dürerhaus* and *Neutorturm* (New Gate Tower) presents an enchanting unbroken picture of the city's medieval architecture, that from the sentrywalk of the *Tiergärtnertor* to the north is also harmonious. Round the traffic-free square at the intersection of Obere Schmiedgasse, Obere Krämersgasse, Bergstrasse and Dürerstrasse that invites one to linger, stand the half-timbered steep-gabled houses, among them that of *Dürer* and the *Pilatushaus* whose style is a reminder of the importance of the armourers. Above these steeply rise *Sinwellturm*, *Heidenturm* and, as if part of the natural rock, the Palace of the *Kaiserburg*. The Palace, enlarged in the 15th and 16th centuries, contained the reception rooms and private apartments of the emperors, and the *Heidenturm* was the choirtower of the two-storey Castle Chapel, whereas the *Sinwellturm* and the strong wall defended the Imperial Castle against that of the Castle Counts to the east.

Though only part of the Castle can be seen, the most important buildings of the Imperial Castle built by the Hohenstaufen are before us, the parts built under Conrad III from 1138—40 that were extended by Barbarossa so that the Imperial Castle became a centre of chivalry and courtly life under the Hohenstaufen. Not only did Barbarossa stay in Nuremberg more than a dozen times both on solemn occasions and at other times, but Frederic II who spent most of his time in Southern Italy, visited the Imperial Castle 16 times and his son, Henry VII, 21 times. Up to the late middle ages more courts and imperial diets were held there than at any other castle in Germany.

The view from the sentrywalk on the *Tiergärtnertor* onto the steep-roofed, half timbered houses and the main buildings of the *Kaiserburg*

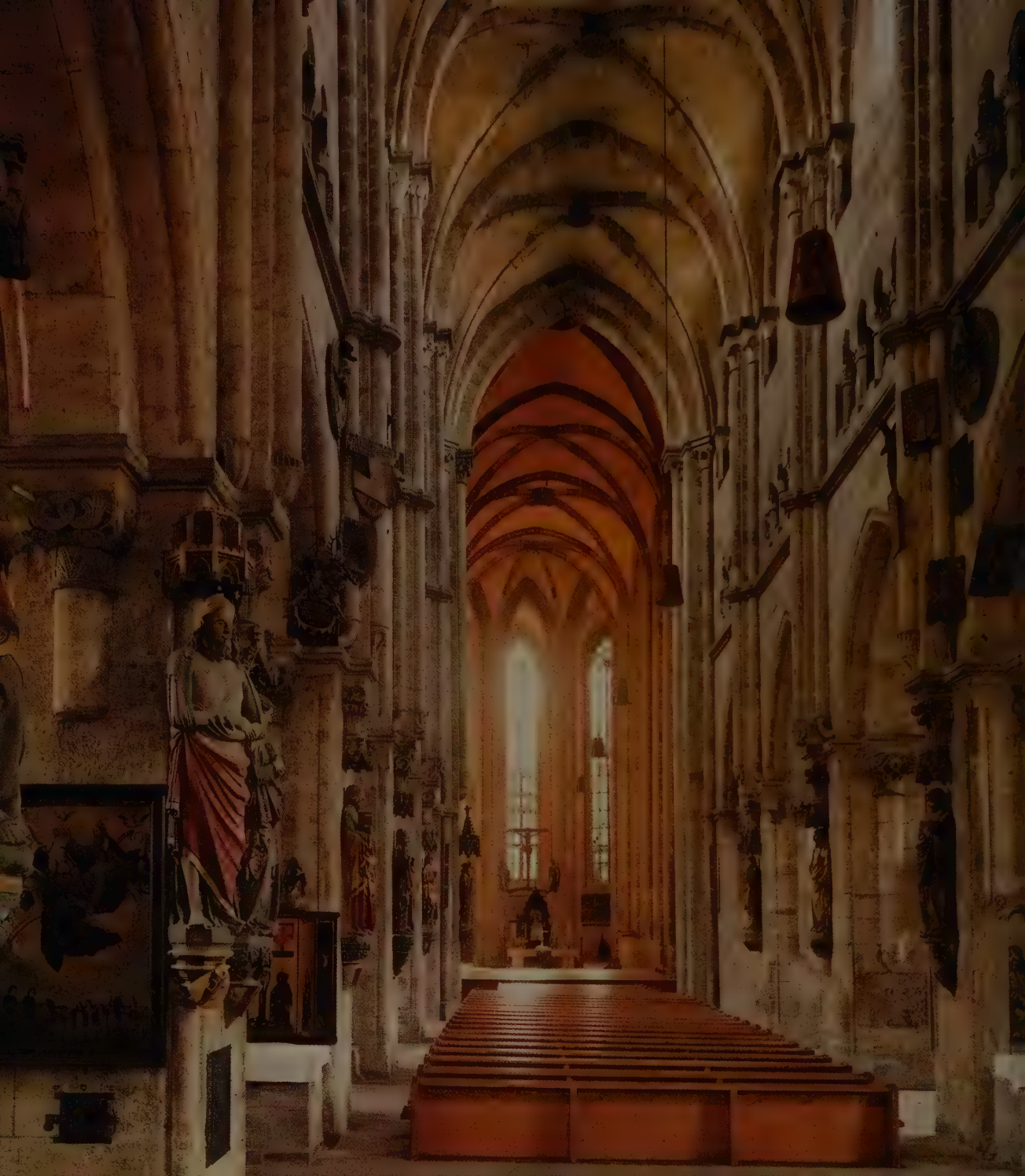
The unmistakable view from the heights of the Castle across the Old Town owes most to the silhouette of the large churches of St. Sebaldus and St. Lawrence. Their pairs of west spires, low naves and the great humps of the hipped roofs of their choirs to the east loom equally above the restless, surging roofs below.

Both churches were first conceived as early Gothic small basilicas and later expanded into hall churches. In each the east choir was replaced by a larger and much higher new structure. Yet each church has great individuality. While St. Sebaldus, about a generation older, with its elegant west doors in Early and Classic Gothic style has a second plain west choir, the west front of St. Lawrence, flanked by the sober walls of its twin towers, is one of the most richly adorned of the Gothic period in Germany. The majestic portal and its tympanon are full of figures, there is the splendid tracery of the rose and of the turret above the gable.

Inside both there is a contrast between the narrow basilica of the nave and the breadth of the choir with aisles of identical width, yet there is a distinct difference between the older and the newer church in this respect. In St. Sebaldus everything surges upwards; St. Lawrence is dominated by the Late Gothic style of the late 15th century, the gallery emphasizes the two rows of windows and combines with the width of the choir to initiate the trend towards horizontality that is, however, still kept in check by the vertical drive. We might say that St. Sebaldus, more bound by tradition, is the more Gothic of the two churches.

The unusual profiles
of the two largest
churches set their
unmistakable stamp
on this view
of Nuremberg





In the twelve thirties the people of the developing city replaced the chapel on the north terrace of Castle Hill dedicated to St. Peter but a place of pilgrimage closely connected with the shrine of St. Sebaldus since the 11th century, by a parish church on Bamberg lines corresponding to the needs of the time.

The dedication took place in 1273. The building, a piers basilica with west towers, east transept, two crypts and east and west choirs was greatly altered in the next century. The aisles were widened, a new east choir full of light was built. The only thing that remained unchanged was the splendid canyon-like nave whose powerful Early Gothic masonry is as impressive as the relief of the clustering vaulting shafts and ribs of the cross-vault. Even the triforium consisting of arches borne by neat little columns in groups of four, some of them with carved capitals, increases the solidity of the walls rather than dissolves it as in Classic Gothic times. There are also the delights of much sculpture and painting from the 13th to the 16th centuries, reminders of the lively, enlightened spirit of Humanism that pervaded the Free Imperial City, enabling it to survive the Reformation, that most drastic of upheavals of the 16th century, without violence and iconoclasm.

The Early Gothic nave
of St. Sebaldus
is still influenced
by the Romanesque

In the 11th and 12th centuries there was a Chapel to St. Peter south of Castle Hill linked with the worship of St. Sebaldus. According to legend, the hermit and pilgrim Sebald, a Danish prince, whose life had been full of good deeds and miracles, died in St. Martin's Chapel near Nuremberg, close to the present church of St. Egidius. In accordance with his wishes his body was placed on an ox-drawn cart, and when the unled team came to a halt at St. Peter's, the saintly man was buried there.

St. Peter had long been dropped as a patron saint when the south-east choir of the church built in the previous century was replaced 1361—79 by the imposing aisled choir whose inside draws the eye so magnificently to the east of St. Sebaldus. Sebaldus had meanwhile been canonized and was to have a fitting resting place in this church. In 1391 his tomb was opened and his bones put into a large oak coffin ornately encased in silver and gilt copper by F. Habeltzheimer.

In 1507, the Vischer foundry was finally given the commission "to make the case for the coffin of the heavenly prince St. Sebaldus". Peter Vischer the E. having made a first design in 1488. This was an important commission considering that the cost of the brass alone came to 3145 florins, while Adam Krafft received only 700 florins for the tabernacle of St. Lawrence plus a coat intended as a formal gift costing 6 florins, 2 shillings and 6 farthings, according to the private notebook of Hans Imhoff. This commission executed by Peter Vischer the E., Hermann the Y. and foremost by Peter the Y., resulted in what is probably the greatest work of German casting, a grand structure resting on twelve snails, full of figurative detail, and already imbued with the ideas and imagery of the Renaissance.

The love of detail that animated the sculptors of the tomb of St. Sebaldus shows clearly in the corner with the sitting figure of Samson. This major work of German casting was created 1508—19





The "Spectator on the Pegnitz" as the ox on top of the archway by *Fleischbrücke* (meat bridge) leading to the Meat Hall was nicknamed in the 19th century, has been sitting there since 9th February 1599. Over the centuries its inscription in Latin "Everything has a beginning and development, but the ox you see here was never a calf", has given rise to much ribaldry. The stone sculpture, weighing over 1½ tons was set up after the city had replaced the 15th century stone bridge by one that still stands today. Designed by Peter Carl and built by the City Architect Jacob Wolff the E. between 1596–98, this bridge was greatly admired at the time for its single wide arch on the model of the Ponte del Rialto in Venice.

The area north of *Fleischbrücke* had long served the butchers as a space to sell their goods. As early as 1298 a document mentioned the meat stalls on the right of the road from *Herrenmarkt* to the river. These no-doubt simple, wooden structures were replaced in the late 16th century by a building with a spacious hall. Close to the Meat Hall and connected by a footbridge stood the "common slaughter house", a wooden structure on piles above the water, close to the bank of the Pegnitz, as clearly shown on Strauch's etching (p. 13). It was built in the 14th century when slaughtering in the streets was no longer permitted, and had been restricted to the "shambles bridge", and remained there till 1891.

The regulations of the Council however went beyond such ordinances. Right from the start the sale at the stalls was controlled. The oldest ordinance mentions the "Masters over Meat" in addition to the control of bread, wine and beer. These not only kept an eagle eye on prices and quality, but also on the observance of the law on direct purchase from the peasants, a task considered so important that in the 16th and 17th century it was taken over by the patricians, the "gentlemen deputies to the Beef and Tallow Office, to the butchers, to the meat stalls".

This decorated sandstone archway with the lying ox was once the entrance to *Fleischhaus*, the butchers' covered market

The wealth of the founder of the *Heilig-Geist-Spital*, the merchant Konrad Gross, of the House of Heinzen, was so great, the endowment of his foundation so exceptional that it became legendary. It is said that Konrad, called "mangy Heinzen", had a dream, and having vowed to provide for the poor and the sick, he found this vast treasure in his garden which led to his changing his name to "Gross" and to his founding the largest charitable institution in Nuremberg.

It is a fact, however, that Gross, with whom the German Emperors stayed more than once, who became Mayor and Master of the Mint, did endow the charity in a princely manner when he decided to "exchange worldly goods for heavenly ones", as stated in the deed of foundation. In addition to large estates outside the city, the hospital received tithes from 1691 farms and 157 places. The hospital was provided with a church and a cemetery of its own. There was a numerous staff for general maintenance and the care of the sick and also 6 priests who looked after the welfare of the inmates and a master who trained the 12 choristers that sang at the services.

The building put up on the meadows between *Möler Tor* and Pegnitz given by Castle Count Frederic IV was intended for 100 sick or disabled old citizens of Nuremberg whose extensive rights were entered in great detail on the deed of foundation of 1339. Extensions were made starting 1489, then in 1511—27 new buildings *Sude* and *Bau* on the plans of Hans von Beheim the E. They bridged the Pegnitz after the difficulties of laying the foundations on the marshy banks had been overcome. The inner arcaded courtyard, where Krafft's Crucifixion and the funeral monuments of Konrad Gross and Herdegen Valzner now stand, is unique in its spaciousness.

Sude is one of
the edifices
of *Heilig-Geist-Spital*
built according
to the plan of
Hans Beheim the E.,
1511—27





The figure of the
shawm player of the
Hanslbrunnen in the
small courtyard of the
Heilig-Geist-Spital
is the earliest
preserved work
of Nuremberg bronze
casting

One of Nuremberg's most charming bronzes is in the small court of the *Heilig-Geist-Spital*, the merry shawm player in 14th century dress, with close-fitting doublet and pointed shoes, sitting inside his Renaissance wrought-iron bower. At times the city was prominent for its bronze casting, pre-eminently bell and gun casting. Half a century after Hermann Vischer the E. had established the foundry where the Hansel Fountain was cast and in the transition from Gothic to Renaissance, the foundry's artistic influence in this area began to make itself felt. For a century the foundry's work was unrivalled, both artistically and technically. Besides the Sebaldus Shrine, the most important work cast in metal in all Germany, and some of the figures on the tomb of Maximilian in Innsbruck, the foundry's output included many monuments and small bronzes, medals and plaques.

Nuremberg's bronze casting craftsmen never completely abandoned the making of fountain figures and at times bronze ousted stone and wood carving. The Vischer foundry cast the sagittarian Apollo of Peter Flötner's fountain that now stands in the Pellerhof; Pankraz Labenwolf made both the graceful Putto Fountain and the robust figure of the popular *Gänsemännchen* Fountain; Benedikt Wurzelbauer was responsible for the *Tugendbrunnen*; Georg Schweigger for the monumental Neptun Fountain whose original the city sold to Peterhof Palace outside Leningrad in 1796.

This view across two of the finest Nuremberg bridges, *Museumsbrücke* and *Fleischbrücke*, clearly shows the attempt to replace the original houses destroyed in 1945, some of them with paintings and wooden galleries on the river, by modern buildings which blend in with the old.

The bridges, however, have not changed. It speaks well for the vitality and importance of the Free Imperial City of the 15th century that not only the present large bridges already existed but only some have had to be widened to meet modern traffic needs; there were also eight foot bridges, similar in construction to the *Henkersteg*.

The first bridges to link the *oppidum* of St. Sebaldus and the *civitas* of St. Lawrence were made of wood. In 1245 Nuremberg was first called *universitas civium*. As late as 1451 the Long Bridge, now *Karlsbrücke*, was rebuilt as a covered wooden bridge, and so was *Fleischbrücke* in 1479, although Jakob Grimm had built the city's first stone bridge, now Maximilian Bridge, 20 years earlier.

But within a few years the Council had most bridges rebuilt of stone, in 1484 *Barfüsserbrücke*, now *Museumsbrücke*, 1485 *Spitalbrücke* and *Heubrücke*, 1487 *Fleischbrücke*. With the exception of *Fleischbrücke* which was rebuilt 1596–98 as a single arch bridge, long considered a wonder, no bridge-building took place till the early 18th century. Then *Museumsbrücke* (reconstructed 1945) was restored with the monuments to Emperor Leopold I and King Joseph I looking rather like pulpits, and when *Karlsbrücke* was rebuilt, the *Krämen* — small shops marked with the letters of the alphabet which earned it the name of *ABC Brücke* — were pulled down.

View onto
Museumsbrücke and
Fleischbrücke
across the Pegnitz





The *Christkindlesmarkt* in front of the façade of *Frauenkirche*, more than any other in Germany, is full of the real Christmas spirit

Up to the second half of the 19th century Nuremberg calendars mentioned the New Year's Fair, but not the *Christkindlesmarkt*. Even "the Family Calendar of Wilhelm Denker Jnr. for His Dear Neighbours for the Leap-year of 1792", published by E. C. Grattenauer of Nuremberg, which in its list of the most important fairs and markets in Franconia and other places enumerated 69 such fairs held between 11 November and 6 January, mentions only an Epiphany Fair in Nuremberg. Yet there is proof that the *Kindleinsmarkt* existed in the 17th century, probably as the result of the amalgamation of the 2 parish fairs of St. Nicholas near St. Lawrence, and of St. Thomas's near St. Elisabeth's. As early as 1653 the patrician Councillor G. Ch. Behaim put down in his domestic accounts the purchase of "Christmas presents for the children at *Kindleinsmarkt*", and J. C. Wagen-seil's description of it as held on the Main Market in 1697 greatly resembles modern ways. It would appear that the wooden booths that during Advent oust the usual stalls in the space between *Frauenkirche* and *Schöner Brunnen* have always concentrated on toys and goodies like the famous Nuremberg honeycakes and *Eierzucker* — a confection of egg and sugar.

After temporary banishment to the square by the Land Trades School and to Schütt Island, the *Christkindlesmarkt* has been back on its original site by the west front of *Frauenkirche* since the 1930s. It is a town of booths, clustered round the Crib, full of prunemen and sparkling Christmas decorations, of toys and arts and crafts, with lights and the smell of gingerbread, burnt almonds and grilled sausages — part and parcel of the pre-Christmas magic in Nuremberg.

The *Hauptmarkt*, the largest square inside the Old Town, is not one of its oldest. The Jewish quarter occupied the centre. There was only one narrow street from the Town Hall to *Fleischbrücke*.

In 1349 the Council obtained an ordinance of the Emperor Charles IV "there being no large open space in the city" where people could buy and sell in comfort, that all Jews' houses situated "between the houses of Franz Haller and Fritz Behaim" be pulled down and two squares made thereof on which no house should be built in perpetuity. On the site of the Synagogue a church was to be raised in honour of Our Lady.

There was an occurrence connected with the faithful execution of this imperial decree, recounted briefly by Ulman Stromer, a nephew of Ulrich Stromer who had been sent to Prague by the Council to obtain the decree from the emperor: on the eve of St. Nikolas, 5 December 1349, the Jews were burned. There is no mention of the number of Jews who escaped, although the town was usually meticulous in recording events. This anti-semitic manifestation may have been spontaneous but it could have been foreseen by the Council, which was not displeased by it: there was an ugly mood in the City which had led to open revolt against the Council itself the previous year.

This was the cost of the two squares, the larger *Hauptmarkt* and the smaller *Obstmarkt* (fruit market) between which the Late Gothic *Frauenkirche* was erected, 1349–58. The *Hauptmarkt*, then as now, not only served as market place, it was also the scene of numerous festivities, like the *Heiltumsweisung*, the annual display of the imperial crown jewels that were kept in the city, as well as the *Gesellenstechen* (journeymen's stickfighting) and the jousts between patricians and the noblemen attending the Diets held in the city, and, since the 17th century, the Christmas fair.

Nuremberg's popular fruit and vegetable market held under the ornate late Gothic façade of the *Frauenkirche*





West front of
Town Hall
erected 1616–22
by Jakob Wolff
the Y., one of the
most remarkable
architectural sights
of the town

The City had no Town Hall before the 14th century. The Council met in the House of the Clothiers, one of the most respected trades of that time, in the Tuchergasse behind the Jewish quarter. Only when the two sectors of St. Sebaldus and St. Lawrence had become a single *universitas civium* inside one wall in the 1330s did the Council acquire a property of the Heilsbronn Monastery on the Salt Market opposite the east choir of St. Sebaldus. On this site, later enlarged by the purchase of further houses, arose the large cluster of Gothic, Late Gothic and Renaissance buildings we now see.

The oldest part, dating back to 1332–40, is the hall with staggered ornamental gable connected to the north with the very Late Gothic *Ratsstubenbau* (building of the Council Chambers) built by H. Beheim the E. 1514–15. A century later, in the fullness of its pride as Imperial City, the Council decided to build an “Italian Palace”. The fact that the eventual building planned with four sides by J. Wolff the Y. did not turn out quite so Italian is probably due to the spirit of Nuremberg. For although this wide monumental structure with its heavy cornices and rows of 36 windows in the upper storeys was something completely new in Nuremberg architecture on account of its horizontality, the roof part and its *Zwerchhäuser* (aedicules at roof level), unthinkable in Italy, reverts to the vertical. The new Town Hall, though truncated, greatly enriched the architecture of Nuremberg by its introduction of Renaissance elements.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the people of Nuremberg showed a clear preference for bronze fountains in keeping with the great development of local bronze casting. The exception is the magnificent *Schöne Brunnen* planned around 1370, perhaps at the suggestion of Charles IV. From 1385–96, a master trained in Prague, possibly named Parler, erected the 19 m tall octagonal stone pyramid that Hans Rosenplüt was to extol as one of the jewels of the town in his poem in praise of Nuremberg. It rises in four tiers from the octagonal basin; forty figures representing the Fine Arts and Philosophy, the Fathers of the Church and the Evangelists, the Electors and Jewish, heathen and Christian heroes, decorate this gilt and painted Gothic construction supported by flying buttresses, with finials, canopies, tracery and crockets.

The fountain seems to have been enclosed by a grille even in the 15th century, since Endres Tucher wrote that on festive occasions he had to have two or three men to spray water onto the spectators to prevent their climbing onto and damaging the grille. The present one, however, was ingeniously wrought with a movable and seamless golden ring by Paulus Kuhn from Augsburg, who made it in 1587 "more artfully than it was commissioned". The fountain itself frequently restored, has not a single original piece in it now. But the copy of 1897–1902 seems in every detail true to the original, whose weather worn figures now stand in the *Germanische Nationalmuseum*.

It is placed not in the centre of the square but more advantageously at the north east corner of the *Hauptmarkt* where it remains one of the greatest attractions.

The splendid pyramid of *Schöner Brunnen* among the colourful stalls of the market





The grandest private house of the Renaissance, the former *Pellerhaus* on Egidienplatz, was not built for a native of Nuremberg. Martin Peller came to the city from Swabia and entered the service of Bartolomeus Viatis as a mere commercial assistant in 1581. His master, an immigrant from Venice, had risen from nothing to being the wealthiest merchant in the Free Imperial City.

Peller soon became his most important assistant, his son-in-law in 1590, and the following year his partner. The connection of these congenial merchants made the enterprise Viatis and Peller one of the greatest of its kind. Without financial or speculative transactions, but simply by means of perfectly organised trade between Venice and Nuremberg, the north and the east, the two accumulated extraordinary wealth.

No wonder that the house Peller intended to build in the most prominent place dominating the whole of Egidienplatz, would burst the framework of traditional Nuremberg architecture. The Council, who still considered both Peller and Viatis outsiders, socially beyond the pale and ineligible to be admitted to its ranks despite their wealth, regarded this plan as a means of outdoing everyone else — which it probably was. So the Council did its best to prevent the magnificent façade being built. Nevertheless the splendid, un-Nurembergian building, designed by Jakob Wolff the E. rose between 1602—05 (see p. 37). This was followed 1605—07 by an inner court of local inspiration which Matthes Herdegen erected, by using parts of the former house.

In contrast to the many other buildings that have been restored in Nuremberg the court of *Pellerhaus* was left a ruin after 1945, a mere shadow of what had made this house a glorious synthesis of northern and southern form, a culminating achievement of the German Late Renaissance.

Peter Flötner's
Apollo Fountain and
the arcaded court
of *Pellerhaus*

Fembohaus in the Burgstrasse is the only typical house of a wealthy citizen left in Nuremberg. Built 1591–96 for the Dutch merchant Philipp van Oyrl it was at one time occupied by the important map publishers Homann, later owned by the Fembos and finally acquired by the town in 1928. It is now the ideal setting for the City Museum.

In contrast to the greatly damaged *Pellerhaus*, and the destroyed *Toplerhaus* also from around 1600, *Fembohaus* remains entirely within the architectural tradition of Nuremberg. The plan of the buildings surrounding a long courtyard on four sides, the smooth severity of the four-storey freestone elevations only softened by an oriel are typically Nuremberg. The protruding row of houses made *Fembohaus* a corner house half way up the street leading to the Castle, and this gave the designer much freedom that found traditional expression by stressing the upper part with its decorated Dutch gable.

While the rear buildings have much panelling salvaged from other houses of the wealthy, including Peter Flötner's famous *Hirschvogelsaal*, built into them, the front house is largely intact inside: the delicate stucco work (1734–35) by Donatus Polli on the first floor; the magnificent "large family-room" of ab. 1600; the deeply moulded stucco ceiling of the second floor by the Italian Carlo Brentano, most unusual for Nuremberg.

Fortune poised on a globe above the gable seems to have preserved this beautiful house not only from the "improvements" of the 19th century but from the horrors of the 2nd World War.

The large
family-room of what
was to become
Fembohaus was
furnished in 1600
as formal
reception room





The *Burgkapelle* (Chapel of the Castle) was most probably built when the Castle was enlarged under Barbarossa, 1170–80. Thus the earlier parts, the low-lying *Heidenturm* and the Palace, were integrated with a new structure and the artistic and hierarchical demands of the Emperor were met. This makes the *Burgkapelle* an exception among the other double-chapels of the time.

The *Heidenturm* became the choir tower of the remodelled structure. The Palace was joined to the Chapel by an asymmetrical middle bay. This made room for the west gallery, reserved for the imperial family, which is also an exceptional feature both from an architectural and a liturgical point of view. By emphasising the hierarchic idea of the time to which all double chapels owe their origin, a division into three parts was obtained: the lower chapel intended for the lower attendants; the upper for the imperial household; the gallery for the emperor.

Both chapels are supported by four columns and joined by the opening in the asymmetrical middle bay; but the crypt-like heaviness of the lower Chapel of St. Margaret's and the lightness of the upper Imperial Chapel, reflecting their different functions, are resolved into a unity by means of decorative sculpture, the interlaced guilloches, acanthus leaves and palmettes of the capitals, the imposts and the archivolts including the imported marble columns of the Imperial Chapel with their Early Gothic capitals. Thus an architectural and artistic solution was found so that traditional building concepts did not prevent the incorporation of new ideas. This and the high quality of decorative carving — probably the work of a master craftsman from the Regensburg region — have made the double chapel not only the most important architectural monument of Nuremberg Castle, but also a unique creation of Hohenstaufen architecture.

The upper chapel
with imperial gallery
of the double-
chapel, 1170–80,
most important from
the art historian's
point of view

The idyllic picture presented by the 16th to 17th century *Hexenhäusl* (witch cottage), the half-timbered gate-keeper's lodge of the *Vestnertor*, is hardly a reminder of the immense effort the city put into strengthening its defences north and west of the Castle in the 16th century.

In the 1520s the Council sent the City Architects Paulus and Hans Beheim to Augsburg and Northern Italy to study the new fortifications. However, for the most important task of protecting the *Kaiserburg*, most vulnerable on its heights to attack by the new canons, Messer Antonio Fazuni was appointed. He had been "imperial overseer and preparer" who had later worked in the Netherlands, "an expert artist and architect". Under his direction the three pentagonal bastions at *Tiergärtnertor*, *Vestnertor* and the commanding *Burgbastion* rose between 1538—45. They were a sensation at the time, and their plain grandeur still impresses.

The access roads to the two gates *Tiergärtnertor* to the west and *Vestnertor* to the north were bent to pass through the flanking bastions so as to protect them from direct fire.

On the way up to the Castle the *Vestnertor* whose arched postern and curved wooden bridge, originally a drawbridge, have been preserved, gives a clear idea of how things used to be, especially as the mighty *Burgbastion* is visible to the right; to the left past the *Vestnertor* bastion rising steeply from the moat, you see the part of the wall from which Epplein of Gailingen is supposed to have leapt across the moat, and beyond the Pentagonal Tower and the Imperial Stables to the Watchtower.

The *Hexenhäusl*
on the approach
to the *Vestnertor*
was originally the
gatekeeper's lodge





The keep of the
Kaiserburg, first
mentioned in 1313,
the only medieval
round tower
in Nuremberg

The "Tower in the Middle", the lookout of the *Kaiserburg* rises from the live rock on the eastern edge of the Hohenstaufen Castle. As in other imperial castles it reinforced the face wall and was the first and last bastion to the Castle; there used to be only one way in, half way up, which is now blocked.

It may go back to the 12th century, however, the only round tower in Nuremberg, the *Vestner* or *Sinwellturm* ("Sinwell" meaning round in Middle High German), is mentioned for the first time in 1313. The original pointed roof, typically Nuremberg, with a four-dormer centre, similar to that still crowning the *Luginsland*, was removed in 1562 when the tower was raised by cantilevered freestone rings and covered in a manner similar to the "big towers" of the town fortifications according to the plans of Hans Löhner, Master of Ordnance of the City.

The safekeeping of the Imperial Castle during any interregnum after Henry VII had been in the hands of the city to whom the upkeep of the "Fortress of the Realm" was transferred in 1422. The city bought the *Burggrafen-burg* in 1427. By incorporating the Castle into its defence system in the early 15th century and erecting the star-shaped bastions that were a sensation at the time, the city seems to have given concrete expression to its long-standing claim to power over the Imperial Castle.

The *Sinwellturm*, the highest and most monumental Hohenstaufen architectural feature of Nuremberg Castle, thus became a symbol of the oneness of Castle and Town, which had never been recognised *de jure*.

Front cover: View of *Dürerhaus*
Back cover: At the *Schöner Brunnen*
Front flyleaf: *Hauptmarkt*, engraving by Carl Rauch after
Ludwig Lange, first half of 19th century
Back flyleaf: *Zeughaus*, engraving by
Johann Adam Delsenbach, first half of 18th century

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